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P.2

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to king of comedy P.68



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'Countless clients are grateful that a lawyer helped them through difficult times and complex situations'

'THE TRUTH ABOUT LAWYERS'

IMAGINE, FOR A MOMENT, how you would react if a magazine ran a cover that read "Flight attendants are pigs," or maybe, "Doctors are leeches" or "Soldiers are dogs." And imagine that the sensational cover was based not on any in-depth investigative report, but solely on the opinions of a disgruntled member of one of those groups whose premises have been debunked. Would you feel that Canadian flight attendants or doctors had been blindsided and vilified?

Well, welcome to our world. The August 6 edition of *Maclean's* magazine published a cover that said "Lawyers are rats" and accused our profession of cheating our clients and engaging in unethical behaviour—based on nothing more than a one-sided interview with the author of a book about real-estate cases of lawyer misconduct.

As president of the Canadian Bar Association, and as a lawyer who has been practicing in a Vancouver Island community for more than 30 years, I am absolutely outraged by this attack. My colleagues and I have conducted numerous interviews since then with media outlets across Canada to respond to this incident and to set the record straight.

But I think more upset by the unspoken assumption that law is behind the cover article: that you can say anything you want about lawyers—no matter how unfair, cruel or false—and you'll be rewarded. It's not surprising that lawyers, who defend the rights of free speech in a civilized society, are still routinely vilified by its abuse.

Lawyers are one of the last groups in this country that people feel they can publicly insult with impunity. It's time for that to stop. The days when someone can print and speak hateful things about any group of Canadian citizens, without reprisal or condemnation, are over. The fact that lawyers are still the lingering exception to this rule puts the lie to Canadian values of tolerance and free press for all.

The truth about lawyers is far more positive, and important, than *Maclean's* or this book's author would have you believe. It's about the countless clients who are grateful that a lawyer helped them through difficult times and complex situations. It's about the countless lawyers who give up their personal

and professional time to serve their communities, their profession and their country.

Lawyers are essential, not only to real access to justice and the protection of Canadians' rights, but also to the social and business structures that underlie everyday life. They solve problems, resolve disputes and help our clients plan their futures. Lawyers stand up and advocate for Canadians, no matter how unpopular the cause, because doing so is fundamental to a democratic society.

Lawyers are subject to codes of conduct



and our bar's provincial law societies, serve as officers of the court, and wear our robes affirming our honour and integrity in dealing with the court and with our clients. A few lawyers have betrayed their clients' trust and their profession's code by engaging in illegal behaviour. But our law societies, mandated to protect the public interest, expel them from the profession. Lawyers who break the law deserve to be punished.

The legal profession, and the justice system itself, are always looking to improve, and the CBA is at the forefront of those efforts. Our association has been fighting for better legal aid and funding for 30 years, we helped create the first nationwide reform of the civil litigation system, we support our independent and unbiased judiciary through our own independence, and we commit ourselves to improving law in Canada and ensuring access to justice worldwide. We do

this because we care about making the law real and accessible for everyone.

Let me quote from a message that one of our members sent me after the article appeared: "I appear for women and children in family courts in Manitoba. I provide instant access to people who need someone to listen and guide them through a challenging time in their lives. The events detailed in me by *Maclean's* are never disclosed at this level. My mother was shocked when I told her that the article suggested that no one ever wants their child to be a lawyer. She is very proud of me, as is my whole family."

Is that someone who deserves to be called a rat?

There are tens of thousands of lawyers across Canada who share this lawyer's humanity, decency, and commitment to clients, and who deserve an apology. The Canadian Bar Association is proud to represent them and to fight on their behalf for the respect and fair treatment that every other Canadian receives as a member of society. And I am proud, and always will be, to be a lawyer.
J. Parker MacCarrigan, Q.C., President,
Canadian Bar Association, Ontario

WHILE I HAVEN'T (and won't) read Philip Skjott's clearly shortsighted book, my perspective from practicing and trying cases for 30 years with a large law firm (Kilgus & Jones LLP) gives me an informed perspective from which to offer a few pointed comments. If Skjott thinks all lawyers are rats, I submit he carefully considered nothing other to your interviewer's question as to whether he ever peddled a bill clearly suggests that he is not only not himself, but a spineless wretch to boot. His conclusions that the entire legal profession is immoral and unprincipled demonstrates to me that Skjott does not appreciate the fundamentally important concepts of evidence or proof. Graciously, he was once spotted on the bench where, like sleepy, loopy, goatey thinking, could result in substantial injustice to litigants deserving of a fair adjudication of their case on the facts.

As to *Maclean's* guiding on lawyers to sell magazines, I challenge you to take a so-called principled stand next time you go wild. Half lawyers are corrupt and unethical, face your losses as an unrepentant bigot. I would wager my subscription fee

that Skjott's would not have the corporate forces to go to court without a rat lawyer by its side.
John L. Rowley, Calgary

LAWYERS ARE NOT RATS. Lawyers are women and men who regularly provide leadership in communities across Canada, volunteer literally thousands of hours for kids and schools and hospitals and every good cause you can list. As a past winner of a national award for providing legal services for free to those who need it and causes allied to it, I am proud to say I am a lawyer.

Scott Stokes, Merrick Jameson Service
Washington C. Mahedy, Halifax

READING YOUR interview, I was reminded of an incident when I hired a lawyer to handle the purchase of a house. After about three weeks, I accidentally met him in an elevator. I asked him how the house transaction was going and he answered, "Very well." On my bill for services, I was charged for "client consultation." This was the only time I saw him until the deal was finished. Oh yes, I should mention, he is now a judge.
Dorrell Carrigan, Bentley, Alta.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH is one thing. Yellow journalism is another. Shame on you for dignifying Skjott's garbage. If there is a feud currently afoot it is you or cover repression against that Skjott is "a top legal scholar."
Marilyn L. Berger, Norwood C. Solicitor,
Toronto

AS A BAY STREET lawyer who is leaving practice at the end of this month to begin an off-Bay Street job, I read with interest Kate Pillen's Q & A with Philip Skjott. For a



LONG HOURS and unreasonable client expectations can make law difficult, a reader says

number of years I have followed Skjott's writing regarding the many challenges facing the legal profession. I agree with a number of his observations. Many lawyers are miserable. Although the financial rewards of practicing law are considerable, there is also considerable stress. Long hours, unreasonable client expectations and the inability to find a satisfactory work/life balance can make the practice of law a very difficult job to enjoy. I do take issue with Skjott's statement that padding bills is a common practice. In my experience, many lawyers regularly under-bill their time. Clients are no longer hesitant to express to their lawyer how expensive legal services have become and lawyers want to keep clients happy. This often puts pressures on lawyers to dis-

count the time they spend on a file, particularly in litigation matters. A client faced with large legal bills ought first to look into the manner and assess whether they themselves are contributing to the problem.
Leo Shoudif, Partner, Blake, Cassels & Gengler, Toronto

INDEED, LAWYERS are rats. Look what they did in the notorious case of D.J. Simpson. They successfully turned a murderer of a young mother of two children and her innocent friend into a free man who now spends his time playing golf.
Kristina Babin, Winnipeg

IT IS UNFORTUNATE that Philip Skjott has had a negative experience in the legal profes-

OYRUE ONT EGTGNI NAY OYRONGE





A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF GORDON BROWN

Camp David is a peaceful retreat, but Britain's new PM Gordon Brown showed during two days of meetings there that he won't run from George W. Bush's war in Iraq. No jet—though Britain is slowly reducing its troops. Brown doesn't have the chemistry with Bush that Tony Blair had, but he isn't paying the domestic cost of that either. A poll this week put his Labour Party six points ahead of the Tories. On Tuesday, Brown was on safer ground: an anti-poverty speech at the UN.

Good news

Tiers and more tiers

The Canadian Medical Association wants to give the ailing Canadian Health Act a thorough clean-up. A proposed policy paper says governments can improve services by letting doctors work in both the private and public health care tiers. The CMA also wants to contract public services to the private sector and to allow patients access to private care. It also wants to reimburse private health care. Expect an angry response from public health advocates, but doctors on the front lines are offering a clear warning that the public system is dangerously overburdened. Therapy shows a public-private mix can work, the idea means investment here. Like most medical crises, this won't be a easy debate, but it's a necessary one.

Two down, 201 to go

After 14 years and \$1 billion, the B.C. Treaty Commission has finally made small progress in a huge backlog of unceded treaty claims. Two bands, the Tsawwassen, and the Hais Ayah, voted to accept cash, land and new powers over their claims. Out of six of the deals under Indian bands with overlapping claims, the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, and a Green Party of B.C. candidate who objects to taking ceded land from the agricultural land reserve. A majority of band members, though, want a land trust. They would trade their traditional two-way system for ownership of their lands, self-government powers, an end to the stifling control of the Indian Act—and a long overdue shot at economic self-sufficiency.

Taps for Aquafina?

Refreshing news on the environmental front. PepsiCo, maker of

the world's most popular bottled water brand, Aquafina, will now manufacture glass bottles exactly where the water comes from the local municipal tap. Activists hope consumers will give up the bottle once they realize they're paying \$1.50 for what flows freely from their faucets. Meanwhile, IKEA has begun charging five cents for plastic bags, with the money earmarked for green causes. U.S. shoppers are reportedly switching to their own with arms outstretched and purchases

Bad news

Oh, shut up

Colin Thatcher, after promising the parole board he'd not offend in the prison and live the quiet life of a model inmate, has now climbed onto a shaky horse of another sort. The former Saskatchewan cabinet minister and convicted killer will write his memoirs, laying out the case he is innocent of the murder of his former wife. He will not appreciate the culpability of O.J. will undoubtedly find it. Thatcher's *Confessions of a Dirty Deal*

has a quiet online gambling. In the meantime, Georgian police are investigating reports of "sexual child abuse" images being created by one member. Vancouver police are also tracking the site from a Second Life detachment is closed to most computer-savvy gamers to their real world police force—maybe investigating it takes a perk to catch a perk.

Jet sit

Corporate jets are rightening in the old and new economies. Jim Shepard, the new CEO of B.C. lumber giant Canfor, is cutting its payroll by 25 percent, the same amount he slashed his salary. He's also parked the company jet to get the books out of the red. The corporate delinquent has faced CanWest Global Communications to deny plans to finance its takeover of the broadcast assets of Alliance Atlantis Communications with high interest bonds. Fred got up in hand to the bank for bridge financing. Even Microsoft's Windows, the wildly successful job placement website, is cutting 300 jobs to lower operating costs. On the plus side, Mosters gained the potential for 400 new employees wanted ads.

Calling all angels

An unemployed Illinois artist has been named the winner of the National Young Artist Award. The artist, a 19-year-old, has been named the winner of the award for his artwork. The artist, a 19-year-old, has been named the winner of the award for his artwork.

Get a life

Second Life, the virtual reality game, is getting too real for its own good. Linden Lab, the company that runs the site, has bowed to pressure from the FBI and banned all forms of gambling in the avatar-based world, in order to comply with real-world U.S.



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"I have not heard any of the New Democrats complain about serving. Perhaps we should take our lead from these young Canadians."

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Mark Steyn

In the wake of the Black word, the controversial author takes on the U.S. justice system.

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Paul Wells

Hooked on *Seinfeld*, he takes on the U.S. justice system.

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Scott Peschuk

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TOP STORIES THIS WEEK

The lawyers object

The Canadian Bar Association angrily denounces our cover story.

The inside story

Mark Steyn's reports from behind the scenes at the Conservative Party.

Rights and wrongs

Why Canada's leading gay rights group is stirring up a fight against homophobia.

What he said

A close look at Liberal candidate Jocelyn Coulton's views on Israel, the United States and Afghanistan.

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WEEK IN PICTURES

SCHOOL'S OUT FOR SUMMER University students in Sana'a, the capital of the Republic of Yemen, attend their graduation ceremony on July 30, 2007. The women are seated separately from the men. The country has a 50-per-cent literacy rate.

PHOTO BY STEPHEN ALAN HARRIS/GETTY IMAGES



INTERVIEW

'You can get up in the morning and say, "I'm going to be a bit nicer," and just do it. It's some of the best economic advice.'

TYLER COWAN TALKS TO KENNETH WHYTE ABOUT WHAT GOOD BOSSES KNOW, AND WHY YOU SHOULDN'T PAY YOUR KIDS TO WASH THE DISHES

Q The whole idea that success is an art is a trap. You need to show that you care, essentially. And this will always be costly, and often the most effective signals are precisely the things that are the most useless. So, like, buying a diamond ring is an effective signal because a diamond ring isn't useful.

Q And that's why a woman who wears a diamond ring is a useful signal.

Q What can your inner economist tell you about how to order in a restaurant?

A It starts by asking are you in a fine-dining restaurant or are you in an ethnic restaurant? If you're in a fine-dining restaurant, your best approach is just ask the waiter, "What should I order?" and make it clear you're serious, and probably order what the waiter tells you to.

Q Why do you use an economist to tell you that?

A Because the waiter will certify what's a good dish in one set of restaurants, but not in another. If the waiter gives you a vague response like, "Well, people like different things, it depends," it's a sign you're not in a fine-dining establishment. If you're eating ethnic food, usually the thing to do is especially in the United States—the U.S. and Canada are a little different here—but the U.S. generally doesn't have really high quality raw ingredients outside of very expensive restaurants, so if you get a dish where there's a Cuban Mexican restaurant, it's a place, it's good. You need to get dishes that are a com-

plex combination of tastes and smells and smells and a lot of different things mixed together by the chef. Those tend to be much better. It's a better way to order in an ethnic restaurant. If you go to a Swedish restaurant or a non-Chinese and you ask them, "What should I get?" you're better off getting the opposite, because they tend to think you can't handle what's there as the best dishes. Look around. Are there regulars? A restaurant that's hard to find is generally better than a restaurant that's easy to find.

Q You study the problem of where to work out of a movie. I know some people who never work out of movies and some people who regularly work out of it to 10 minutes in.

A Most people should work out of it more than they do. We're programmed to stick with our own ideas and this is a good thing—consistency is children, so parents, to buy friends, girlfriends, to careers are very important—but this general programming carries over into a lot of areas where it's not really needed. And I think a movie should be given a certain amount of time, but if it's bad, you go, even if it's occasionally a good movie you're willing to cut on. If you hear from a few people, "We missed something great," just go back.

Q Seven goes for books, I suppose.

A Absolutely. I think I continued for every 10 books I start, I finish one. And I'm not unhappy. A book is something for your past, not for your future. It's not a down.

Q You talk quite a bit about meetings in

HOW DO YOU DEFINE YOUR LIFE?
Is it what you do between NINE and FIVE?
Or FIVE TO NINE?

IS IT THE COMPANY YOU KEEP?
OR THE PEOPLE YOU RAISE?
The DIFFERENCE you make?
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your look, and your feelings are that a lot more is being done than is shown much of the time.

A: I think a lot of meetings are held on people can feel they're in control, or that they're part of the decision, even if they're not, or I might say, especially if they're not. Meetings let people know what the status relationships are. So I think it's possible to have a lot fewer meetings or have them be shorter, but for that to work the person in charge needs to produce some other means of letting people feel they're in control or have not been excluded.

You know, I don't think you can just shed all the meeting, but there are a lot of things in the workplace—the greater use of video would be one example, online technologies—and if you're going to use them, the key is not so much, do they substitute for the interpersonal purpose of meetings—for the most part they do—but to ask, do they substitute for the emotional functions of meetings. But maybe instead of a meeting, if people just went to a company picnic, [as long as] they feel that same sense of control or belonging, it'll work. If they don't, it won't. They'll end up resenting the boss or sabotaging the project or not working hard enough. So view meetings almost as a kind of theater and ask what's the substitute for the theater and not what's the substitute for the information.

Q: You make a fairly strong case that there is an economic basis to our emotional losses. A: People want more that's going to be good for themselves, so if you grow up, say, in Michigan, and you're a young male and you realize you're going to be listening to heavy metal and that you play guitar. It's not that the genetic structure of your brain required that. If you're a 19-year-old Jewish girl who's going to Brown University, almost certainly you like indie rock, and it's because it's good for you socially. So it's another example where we have this programming. Musical taste is very predictable. It depends where you were born, where you grew up, where you went to college, but it doesn't have to stay that way forever.

Q: So there are economic losses to the choice?

A: The basis is that you want to be popular in your peer group.

Q: But how does that explain the diversity within peer groups?

A: Let's go back to Michigan. If it's your goal to break free of the small town you came from and go to a big school and be upwardly mobile, probably you're going to leave heavy metal behind. If your goal is to work at the local gas station and smoke pot and preppy guitar, you're likely won't leave heavy metal behind. And you don't

sit down and say to yourself critically, how am I going to break this small town of heavy metal? It's as if [psychologically] you're not decided to take yourself into the music that will be good for you socially, for what's ultimately an economic reason, finding a job, finding a mate, finding a peer group. It's why people almost always buy music that is new. If you look at top sellers in music it's not Beethoven, it's not Bach, it's not even the Beatles, it's what's out now that's new. You can't be hip thing that old music, even if it's really good.

Q: So why did so many people read new novels and authors in the bookstore last year when there are so many other great novels written in 100 years ago?

A: We're, again, programmed to this nervous fear that economic reason, which is social ties, talking about it with other people, trying to signal we're up to speed of the game, and we want to carve out our own space and the old has already been colonized, whether it's a book, a movie, music. Q: I don't think it would be fair to characterize your book as a self-help book, but there are a lot of practical advice in it, including how to determine whether or not you're being led to by someone.

A: We're all led to an extraordinarily high number of times in the course of an average day, and I think it's quite difficult to figure out when you're being led to. I think when we need to do it makes how much we are seen in harm, and it is that that we'll be seen that way, and that's the right way to think about our daily life.

Q: So we have to accept that being a part of life and just account for a certain level of conformity in our decisions?

A: That's right, and the general framework is that economics can help you solve a lot of problems, but part of the economic way of doing it is being able to recognize, "Here's a problem you really can't solve much better than you do now." And sometimes part of the reason is just, "Look, well, so that some cases you're being led to or coerced over and take that into account." But there is no solution—and economics shows this—because the people who are lying can mimic any behavior of the people who are honest.

Q: So how do you get better treatment from your doctor?

A: I think in general you can't pay your doctor or dentist a bonus for better treatment, because it's honest in the short term. I think the best thing to do is to game your doctor to doctor, elevate their self-image and, if you can, give them a greater role in making some other major decision, but make it clear the

present is not contingent on their behavior or performance, and in the longer run that's likely to boost their morale a bit and get you somewhat better than average treatment.

Q: You're saying so just being nice to people is an economic strategy?

A: I think the return to being nice is enormous, and it's surprising not more people do it.

Q: If there's a payoff why don't we do it?

A: I think a good book on general theory that we have programming that is a social science to the State Age when there was a lot of warfare and fighting, but this is modern society and that programming is, to some large extent, obsolete. And it's not that we can get rid of it completely, but you can walk up in the morning and say, "Look, I have this programming. Actually, so we of it's bad for me. I'm going to be a bit nicer," and just do it. It's some of the best economic advice that



'Meetings are held so people can feel they're in control, or they're part of the decision—even if they're not'

can be given. And people will respond by being a lot nicer to you, they'll help you out, they'll assure you're not trying to control them.

Q: How does self-defense come into this? You also advocate that some level of self-defense is necessary to get through life.

A: I think most people take an overly nice view of themselves. If everyone were around, failing they were aware, they wouldn't try as hard, they wouldn't care as much, and a lot of the evidence is that people who feel put average tend to be depressed. If you really

had a truly rational scenario with a new idea, he'd say something like, "My goodness, all the other people—the smart people I know—they hold the old idea, and who am I to disagree with them? My new idea is probably wrong." And if his own scenario was wrong, or they're just useful, or they're just not relevant. But because you have a lot of people who think they can win a Nobel Prize, or they're smarter than others, they end up against the establishment, they put forward their new idea. And that again starts from some degree of self-delusion.

Q In addition to being nice to people, you can give a lot of other incentives that aren't financially based. How do you encourage people to do what you want them to do. That money is a reward in terms of getting people to do what you want to do is counterproductive coming from an economist.

A Yeah. Well, I think there's a lot of evidence that money works really well when the influence of money is supported by other values in a workplace or in a home. So if status in the workplace is being in a certain way—the coming a lot of money running a hedge fund—and the dollar incentive points in the same direction, then I think the dollar incentive is really potent. But a lot of times when you start paying people for things they feel they should have done anyway, that maybe they feel are wrong or they feel should be allocated to some other basis, when status incentives and money incentives point in different directions, then I think it's problematic.

Q Give me an example.

A The example I give at the book is trying to get my employees to do the dishes at home. The internal model of the family in children can be something, but once you start paying them to do the dishes they treat it like a marketplace. It's like, "Well, I can do the dishes, get the money, or not do the dishes, not get the money. It's a trade-off." The sense of obligation goes away. It's just like a set of contracts, you're not a parent anymore, you're ceding authority. The daughter may even feel you're trying to control her by buying her to do this or that. "What will they buy me for next? I get better grades, so choose the right boyfriend, so take the right job, to leave the right mayor." It's counterproductive.

Q Does that translate to the workplace?

A Even in the workplace, you don't give people a bonus for every single task. There might be a year-end bonus, there might be promotions. That seems to work better than buying and selling everything because when

you're always buying and selling people's time they start treating the contract. Even the best of employees don't always deliver, and the negative managers hurt a lot more than the positive ones help. If you evaluate them quarterly or yearly, you tell them they did really well. When if you evaluated them everyday and you're telling them every month, "Well, you messed up," they get pretty upset.

Q So what kind of incentives work better than money?

A It depends on the job, but I think the key thing is to get money and other values working together. At some level there's always a monetary incentive—better people get promoted—but the key to make the money incentives work is to have them be applied very periodically and not to have some sort of market in who broods the coffee that much, and the best people, rather than telling them all the time they're wrong, you have to fire them. You don't say to the bad people, "We'll keep you on for half the wage."

Q In terms of non-monetary incentives for better performance, what kind of things are employers generally overlooking?

A Just a lot of praise, and it goes back to the economic return to being nice. Employees can be pretty tough, so they feel they have to be tough because a lot of people try to shirk on them. Just realizing how important the non-monetary incentive is, and that when bonuses do come, they're forced through a lens of, like, what does that bonus mean and is it recognizing what the person does as valuable in itself, then the bonus is much better incentive when it's linked to status.

Q So status is, at the end, more important than money?

A I think so. You know, at some point you can only spend so much on status as such, but people with money don't seem to stop spending, and I think a lot of that's the status. Nobel Prize winners, they care about their status relative to other Nobel Prize winners. I don't think that kind of game—if you work to kill it then—ever lets up.

Q How can the 14-year-old girl and the employer make the same economic choices and incentives work for themselves?

A If you're a 50-year-old girl it's a little harder—obviously you have lower levels at your command—but I think one thing that can be useful is just pointing out to your parents when they're doing things that are counterproductive, and pointing out in a nice way rather than just yelling and screaming, which is a common teenage response tactic. Once the teenager starts screaming the parents respond it as an issue of, like, the duty—should children respect their elders

more—who's really in charge of the family, and they get into a frame of mind that's not problem solving but asserting authority, and that's a bad place for parents and children to be in a discussion. So, for a 14-year-old—er, for that matter, an employee—just try to point out a better solution and keep the dialogue away from who's in charge, who's in the right here, and as there's some chance they'll get a better outcome.

But obviously, the CEO can do more to change the workplace than a single worker can. Maybe the worker cannot control when a meeting is called, but if he simply understands, "Look, there was some reason for this meeting, however imperfect," I think he'll feel less frustrated and be more productive. Managers used to really bug me and now they don't, and I think what has changed is just my own understanding. If we know there's some reason for our suffering, it's a lot less painful.



'If you pay them to do the dishes, it's just a set of contracts. You're not a parent. You're ceding authority.'

Q Do you think that economists are there learning on a day-to-day basis in mundane decisions?

A I don't think they do. If we really understand economics, the real lessons are pretty palpable. "The race, be a little more self-critical, don't try to control other people as much, realize that not everything's money." It's common sense advice. ■

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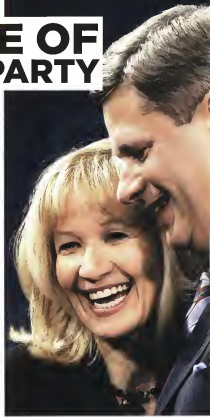
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WIFE OF THE PARTY

Laureen Harper may appear to be channelling Donna Reed, but she's actually the PM's secret weapon
BY ANNE KINGSTON

The redco-bellied, Laureen Harper and John Reid wander their way through the packed lobby of Ottawa's National Gallery. The occasion is the Tur Ball, a fundraiser for the Ottawa Business Society, of which the Prime Minister's wife is the honorary chair. In letting with the Mink, Gna North theme, guests on this late March evening in 2007 have been treated to Western-style music. Harper, her hair swept up, attired in a long black skirt, embroidered jacket and jewelry that the house taught from her husband, is quickly thrust into the centre of a photographic crush. Yet her smile is attuned to the fact her event, the recently assumed minister of the environment, is about to listen his music over his face. She takes action. Her deliberate stage whisper, she seems to hear that being photographed behind a mask isn't the most agreeable for politicians to reveal.

The quick-and-demand-music is typical of Harper, who since her arrival as the nation's capital five years ago has become one of the nation's most intriguing political spouses. She arrived Laureen Teskey, a folkie, motorcycle-riding Alberta recluse who was unveiled as Ottawa's first. She played about the "muddy roads" and drank beer from the bottle. Post-2006 election, she's been repositioned. Now she's Laureen Harper. A photographic map of life at 24 Sussex Drive in the July *Chambers* could be the poster child for 2008. Harper, who ran a thriving business after raising her two children, appears to be channeling Donna Reed as played by Ellen Barkin. She revels in her role as stay-at-home mom to Ben, 12, and Rachel, 8, because that there's no money, she makes the kids' lunches and that the Harper are just an "average Canadian family." Her only public once-appearing homeless cats for the Humane Society is a similarly heartwarming and unassuming,



through the recent addition of 11 letters to her address at a Cornwall, Ont., annual donor address to 14 Sussex's new website, the Cat Palace.

Laureen Harper doesn't give formal interviews, the PMO quickly shuts down media's requests. "The story's about him," she likes to say. Yet the Stephen Harper story isn't complete without putting a lens on the matriarch. Rarely has two opposites attracted to such potent political effect. He's IQ, the MQ. He's the policy work, she's the people person. Her ability to put people at ease, her extroverted nature and self-deprecating humour arrive in a bid for her policy shamed, often hostile-seeming husband whose social demeanor can mirror biker wind.

Indeed, the Yoruba-singing former fire spirit is an inextricable part of Stephen Harper's political imagery. In photographs they are often seen holding hands, a united front. Earlier this year, she stood next to a military graveyard in Berlin, France, her husband's socializing into around her shoulder. Within Conservative circles, Laureen Harper is known as the Secret Weapon. Reid calls her "a great person and a great asset to our team." The Harper camp didn't use Teskey on the campaign trail in 2006, a mistake they corrected in 2008, says Harper strategist and University of Calgary political scientist Jack Flanagan. "We'd send her out to local radio headquarters and she'd say, 'My husband couldn't make it, but I'm here.'" Harper alludes to his wife when it serves his needs. When asked in a January 2008 CBC interview if he travelled much, Harper responded in the negative, then months later he "made a pilgrimage" through Africa, referring to a six-month trek in the mid-'80s. "I got a much more accurate read on the realities of life in other parts of the world from Laureen," he said. In February announcing the Canadian Life Mission (with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation), he quipped his wife's cheeky praise that Gates was the "sexiest man in the world."

In Canada, the Prime Minister's spouse has no official role, ceremonial duties are carried out by the Governor General. There's no "first lady" per se, though Laureen Harper is referred to by that title informally in the PMO. The women occupying the role have provided an odd assemblage of roles: the backroom operative Olive Dickason, the classic Marilyn Deschen (who once quipped "Behind every successful man is a respected woman"), the outspoken Margaret Trudeau, the inflexible Margaret McCain, the polished Mha Mulroney, the reluctant Sheila Martin. Early on, her identities have been crafted onto her husband's political legions. Even in terms of diet, cancer topics, the political agenda, she's the power tolegen.

orange, business, redneck, second star, even arrange. As her role model, Laureen Harper has cited Alay Christie, one of the most guarded yet effective political spouses Ottawa has known. Low-key, rarely interviewed, Madame Christie was said to be her husband's most trusted advisor and the most unobtrusive of the two. Laureen Harper speaks an even more complex creature. An activist in the early days of the Reform party, she was a businesswoman. Her husband enjoyed calling himself a "kept man." "The job was that the subsidized the Reform party in the early days," says Ken Rosenfeld, an econ-

"She's got the role of political wife nailed." says a long-time Ottawa observer. "She is Mrs. Stephen Harper. She's someone to do the occasional but not the power behind the throne. But she's also the business face next to the powerful man. I think they've figured out very carefully how she's going to appeal. She's never going to win the cheering crowds, but she is going to make him a human being."

Lauréen Ann Teskey, born in 1965, was raised in a family near north of Turner Valley, Alta., population 2,000, a tiny town nestled in the Rocky Mountain foothills.



That the rumples Harper had 'project' written all over him is believed to be part of the appeal for the can-do Teskey



SHALL-TOWN ALBERTA: Once Laureen Teskey's Grade 12 school photo, Turner Valley, Alberta High School staff

omitted long-time Harper aide. She doesn't do it to endow him. Nor does she share her husband's religious convictions. "Stephen has a strong will everyone knows about," says Rosenfeld. "But she has a very interesting will of her own. She was a strong will. Long under the same roof which creates its own operating dynamic. But when they go in, they go in as a team."

less than an hour's drive south west of Calgary Her father, Dennis, was an electrician, her mother, Barbara, a housewife. Teskey grew up in a quiet space surrounded by woods—oaks, pines, hemlock, beech and an assortment of dogs and cats in season, the family still seemed to be, in summer they roamed their fields and around the edges of their. Teskey was an all-arounder—a good student, athlete and well liked. She was friendly to everyone, made a few friends. Teskey's father, Dennis, was not one of the popular girls, but she was always close to him. As a Catholic High School, Teskey made the honour roll, played tennis sports and was on the yearbook committee.

Summer the weekend as the local swimming pool. It was the water a good two hours, was down state roads, making her enjoyment of typical high-school romance.

The friendly Progressive Conservative, Ottawa's life was a subject of heated debate around the dinner table. "The Teskey family has very strong opinion groups," says Sheryl Smith, a cousin. Laureen was never shy about

ANNE KINGSTON / BELLER PHOTOGRAPH BY CORY BOLIN

viewing her convictions, she says. "In any given situation she could demonstrate quite quickly who was black and what was white and wanted to do what she could to help a person or improve a situation."

Early on, Tkalya showed a deft hand. In Grade 11, her class met at the "Tkalyas" property to drop firewood for a fund-raiser, in Toronto north. The girls were told they couldn't use the chainsaw, so Tkalya ignored Saville's call that was typical.

"Certainly she was not a woman's libber, but she's a very liberal-minded in terms of equality for women and equal opportunities for women in education. She never showed any discrimination against anyone. She was supposed to be a man's field." The family had roots in the United Church, but Tkalya came to reject organized religion after seeing the division of different religious communities had on her parents' marriage. (The Tkalyas divorced in 1931, after 25 years.) A long-time friend says Tkalya never attended church as an adult.

She went to Southern Alberta Institute of Technology in Calgary planning to become a journalist. Reading writing news had her first love. She switched to photography, showing a skill for computer-generated graphics. After graduation, she made her African pigment suit, travelling with a youth group. Her first home had lots of insects, water rats, even a roach with geyser-like abilities. "Laureen was always a very independent person who wasn't afraid to take a risk," says Saville. One trip Tkalya became involved with Neil Penno, a young New Zealander. The couple returned to Canada, immediately in April 1965, and married in a small apartment. Tkalya found a job as a graphic artist for GTO Printing. Penno wanted to own a restaurant. Both were focused on their careers, children were not in the plan. Their split in 1968 came as a shock to Tkalya. "Laureen thought she had a good marriage," says a relative. "But they had different values."

She became involved in politics. Believing in the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement, she volunteered in the 1988 federal campaign of Calgary Progressive Conservative MP Jim Hanson who was running against his former aide, Stephen Harper, the Reform candidate. Hanson was hardly

Tkalya soon found herself drawn to the fresh energy and excitement of Reform, the grassroots conservative party born out of disillusionment with Mulroney conservatism. She designed communication materi-



The stylist, with whom Lauren is chummy, has been known to even pick out the children's clothing for public occasions



als for the party, including a poster for Reform MP Deborah Grey who was asked Stephen Harper to Ottawa on her assistant. Tkalya's and Harper's paths didn't cross until a Reform party assembly in Stirlington in 1990. The couple was more formally introduced by Cynthia Williams, Harper's former fiancée, who met Tkalya when they

two worked at GTO. Thinking they would hit it off, Williams asked Lauren to join her and Harper for lunch. "I like Lauren a lot," she says. Calgary Conservative MP Doug Albrecht also recalls nudging the two together. "Stephen was tick with branchitis from being in a basement suite," she says. "I told to Lauren, 'Stephen needs to get out more, why don't you mix him out?' She's just so peppy, she's a tonic for anybody. So she said 'Do you think he would go?' Not long after, Tkalya was helping Harper with graphics for his M.A. thesis. The couple bonded over a shared need for smaller government and a love of cats.

Friends were surprised by the coupling—Tkalya is gay-friendly, Harper is conservative, the three are of different ethnicities while the woman Harper prefers outdoor activities. "He was so serious and so focused on politics it didn't occur to me he had the time or inclination for a romance," says Albrecht. "I saw it as a good thing, thinking he'd brought out of his shell," says Grey. That the rampaged Harper had "person" women of color has been believed to be part of the appeal for the candidate. Tkalya Harper owned one son, but she had business running, and he drove a man down Dodge bought at a police auction. "It was so if she was thinking, 'I can finish this



PLIN BALL, 2007 (top), with BIRD (left) at NAC gala, 2006, election night, 2006

guy off, round him out," says friend. Another friend says Tkalya was drawn to Harper's intellect and seriousness. "He's really steady guy." "Laureen said it was the first time she just met a guy who could keep up with her," says Albrecht. "She had such a keen sense of things and here was a guy who shared the same interest in current affairs." Harper's kindness to her family also won her heart. Sunday night Tkalya and Harper would attend time to work her grandmother in Black Diamond where Harper would do off the cooking. By December 1991, their relationship was serious. Tkalya filed the legal paperwork to finalize her divorce.

Tkalya was more than just a word-carrying member of the Reform party, she was an organizer and an activist, recalls Clark Levant, publisher of the Western Standard. "If you missed the Reform party it wasn't because you saw this as a quick route to a job in politics or power, it was because you were attracted by the ideas and Lauren was." Levant recalls talking to her about gun control. "If you're some body living in Toronto or Montreal, you control it as an abstract, but good idea that is supposed to disarm dangerous gangs who don't use firearms and rifles," he says. "But 15 to 20 years ago, Lauren Tkalya talked about what it'd be to be a young woman in a small town with a rural population who is big city 911 police are not anywhere like the way." Levant recalls Tkalya's great social instincts. In 1991, he and she hosted "Laureen and Rick's Christmas and Hanukkah both," raising hundreds of up and coming conservatives, some of whom Tkalya never met. Tkalya designed the invitation. "It was a graphic with no left curve, right turn about, nothing serious or highbrow," he says. They ended up raising it for three years.

When Stephen Harper took his children to the 1993 election, Tkalya was by his side, designing signs that filled party space. He was a reluctant candidate, says Hawkins. "There's no doubt in my mind he didn't want to be a politician." Another friend agrees. "He was initially adverse to and quite terrible at most public life. He had a, it was uncomfortable to groups and really disliked public speaking."

In December 1993, a month after his visit, the couple, surrounded by a handful of family and friends, was married by a pastor of the people in their house in Calgary's house. After a neighbourhood, Harper found a furnished studio apartment in Ottawa while Tkalya stayed in Calgary, building her graphic design and desktop publishing business. Tkalya was known for being on the cutting edge of technology. "She was talking about the Internet before anyone knew what it was," says Williams. "When Ben was born in 1996, she brought in a part time babysitter."

In 1997, in a move that surprised many, Harper announced he was resigning from his post to head the National Citizens Coalition. He said he wanted to spend more time with his family and ruled out any future run for leadership. By the time Rachel was born in 1999, the family was with a confirmed house they had built in Calgary's Tuscany area. Tkalya's support—financial and emotional—was crucial in 1993, when, in an obscure district, Harper decided to challenge his family's leadership of the Canadian Alliance, the offshoot of Reform. After quitting the NCC,

Harper didn't have a salary, so Tkalya provided for the family. She was instrumental in getting him into gear. Her own words: "We joke that Stephen is the Harrier of the Conservative party. His tendency is to deliberate over decisions whereas Lauren is for action."



'Stephen,' she joked at a press gallery garden party at Stornoway, 'you know if you go inside you'll never come out again'



WITH THE PM at the 08, 2007, and to how political spouses: Jonathan Spector (Angela Merkel) 2007, and the 2008, 2008

"Let's go for it." Early on, the campaign required a complete overhaul, says Plavins. "Harper was concerned too much time had elapsed to pick up momentum, but Lauren pushed him to carry on." The new leader of the Opposition and his family relocated to Ottawa. The early days were difficult for Tkalya. She gave up her home, her car, Dams, took over managing contracts. Away from her family and friends,

she had her husband often absent and preoccupied, it was a lonely time for her, says Plavins. "It was hard. She was isolated in the leader's life."

Involvement in her children's school provided a new area of community. She spread bread doors and joined parents building a baggy camp and the fooding the hockey rink. She found a group of women to play basketball with. Her creative skills were channeled into making posters for school events, joining together CIBC for friends, and raising children. Her own words: "I was a mother of a mother."

Lauren Park, a neighbor when the Harpers lived at Stornoway, speaks of the daily social reception the Harpers initially enjoyed. "The Harpers initially enjoyed the Ottawa's Liberal City," she says. But Tkalya disarmed the neighbors' joking about her small town roots with an irreverent. "Once we were talking about cottages and she said, 'We're from Alberta—don't have cottages, we have trailers,'" says Joyce Watson, the head of communications for the National Art Centre. She quickly became a social must-have. When contacted to help support the NAC's 2005 Alberta Summit featuring more than 20 artists. "She was a terrific cheerleader," Watson says. "I felt confident 'open my eyes.'" Tkalya was particularly enthusiastic about the Alberta opera festival.

"My first impression was, 'Wow, she looks a whole lot of energy and passion,'" says Leah Murray, the wife of government whip Jay Hill, who befriended Tkalya in 2002. "I was very impressed."

With her lot of optimism and energy. A lot of people say it's because she's a westerner. But I think it's simply her character." She didn't shy away from discussing politics in public. "Lauren's excellent personality," says a woman who sat next to her at a dinner her husband was PM. The couple has always been a team. When Harper asked her to talk about Alberta again. "The discussion peaked between about how amazingly high

PHOTOGRAPHY: JIMMY DUNN; TOP PHOTOGRAPHY: JIMMY DUNN; BOTTOM PHOTOGRAPHY: JIMMY DUNN

important men, who's meant nobody could afford to travel anywhere." Peck recalls a lunch filled with professional women whom Harper won the crowd over. "She was very forthright. A lot of women ended up agreeing with Laureen on a lot of issues—health care, social issues, day-care—even though they were from different political parties. People were surprised."



She's said to send playful messages to one of her gay friends about the cute male air stewards she encounters while travelling



THE FAMILY: With daughter Rachel (top), son Ben (left); Calgary (September, 2007)



choice not really her own, with any cause except her volunteer work for the Humane Society. [The Harpers] have become the elite of the social safety net. The PMO website recently added an ad on its page. [The] decision was made that she would not comment publicly on political issues. "There was the possibility of crisis," says Flanagan. "She is really pragmatic and once she got going, she might say something that's not part of the party discipline and message." She opened out in other ways, too. When Rick Mercer showed up at 24 Sussex last fall to film his sleeper spoof, Laureen Harper was nowhere in sight, after all, the segment was intended to humanize the PM, her presence would only have been a distraction.

Harper's recent announcement to slash 1577 million from adult literacy programs. When she gave her name—and time—to honor any child of the National Arts Centre's fall 2006 gala, which costed \$1 million, there were few grumbles within the arts community about the Conservatives' dominance in cultural funding, says NDP MP Olivia Chow, who contributed records to donation of the PM's wife abiding her gift with the arts. "Playing her play that role is smart," says Chow. The NAC's Wilson says other given reasons "we've taken on the gala that role, because it has been so hard on her the event,

she's learned even non controversial women can sustain parties risk. When she participated in the Can/US/UK-Boulder Day program in 2006, a fundraiser for literacy, she was pelted with questions about the po-

Harper designed the crystal chandelier that hung over the foyer, spending three days strapping it together, welding a blowtorch when spot welding was required.

The learning curve has been considerable, says one Harper confidant. "She never would have put on a formal dinner party, her style is more potluck," says Flanagan. "The idea of dealing with wait staff and cooks and wine lists is all new to her. It's a measure of her success that she has made it seem so natural." There have been bumps. In March 2006, former Stenaway chief Henrik Lundgaard launched a \$350,000 lawsuit against the Harpers, alleging he was poisoned by food served to him at a dinner and was fired without cause. He claimed his duties included babysitting, juggling up dry cleaning, cleaning the pool, even babysitting one of the Harpers' cats. The suit was settled out of court in December with the standard gag-order provision.

Part of Laureen Harper's repackaging included upping the glamour quotient. The PM's wife is expected to be stylish, though never distractingly so. During the 2004 election, Teskey would joke that female friends emailed her with inside comments about her outfits. The Ottawa press corps made similar sniggering remarks when Teskey showed up at a barbecue with man-of-the-hour couple. Trips were made to Reno, the Ottawas hair salon made famous by Milla Maloney, for a sleeker cut and lessons on makeup application. Women were replaced by fashion's House of Paulsen, a by appointment designer label shop in Ottawa. A more stylish, body-conscious wardrobe emerged, including a \$4000 Chloé gown worn to the NAC gala, the silver silk and Austrian lace evening suit worn in Haines in November, the dark black suit with the lace hemline worn to the G8 summit in Germany in June—all worn approvingly by some media. Harper came to rely on Michelle Munro, the Prime Minister's stylist, or "over coordinator," is the PMO calls her. Ideal suit, with whom Harper is chummy, often coordinates what the Harpers wear to big events and has been known to even pick out the children's clothing for public occasions. Laureen, Harper's most public unofficial role, however, is as her husband's social front miss. At a press gallery gala party at Stenaway, the child her husband gaffer for his own social scene when he arrived late and said he wanted to go home and change into something more casual. "She's the joke," says one Harper confidant. "She's the joke, 'you know if you go inside you'll never come out again.' Laureen has become the Harper's link at social events. This dimension when they're together," says an Ottawa journalist. "He reads her as 'no one's gonna.' Other than in the company of the single Bear, who has seen his star rise in the Harper regime." "We've

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going to be like Tim and Belinda." Bond played the media at the PMAC fall gala, a reference to their swirling rumours of an affair between Tim and Belinda Stronach. Harper's greatest ailment comes as a solo operator. Edmonton Conservative MP Robert Joffe would be chewing up some at a Conservative party at Ottawa's Hard Rock Café last January. "She was a real hit," he says. "A lot of people were really indulging, but she loved it. Everyone wanted pictures."

The Prime Minister's wife has also proven adept at muddling a media circus welled by her husband's government. (Though the dad's spins for this story, she puts the go-ahead to friends and family to do so.) "She's very media savvy," says an Ottawa insider. "She's by nature a busy woman, but whenever she's around the cover says a thing or it is very careful."

When Chantaline went to photograph the family, the PMO instructed all questions be directed at the Prime Minister. Even so, Laureen Harper spoke candidly off the record. She outlines positive members of the Ottawa press corps, memorably by email. One reporter made a plausible claim after critical coverage of her husband's government. She's on top of the coverage. At a press gallery dinner she remembered a television reporter who had commented on air "Stephen Harper's dead," referring to Harper's political career. "We have to be careful what you say because I was in the kitchen with the kids having supper and they heard 'Stephen is dead' and my kids said 'What does he mean Daddy's dead?'"

Erin Laurier notes Harper's new role is at odds with her natural character. She'll agree. "That would be one of her biggest struggles to connect with people while being as guarded." Privately she's known for her irreverence: she's mad, for instance, to send text messages to one of her gay male friends about the rate male air stewards the incense and while travelling. "She'll sound off if the house isn't not a public occasion," says Flanagan. "She's passionate about the mandate her husband's been given and she takes it very seriously," says Lash Murray, of the private Laureen Harper. "But she's also a drinking vessel. She's not just drinking the party line."

To what extent the PM's wife contributes to the party line is unknown. She reads widely

and is up on who's who. "She listens to her," Deborah Gray says. "You sit at the dinner table with them where they're had a good exchange of ideas and he respects that." Within the PMO, the joke is whether the



A TV reporter who remarked on air that 'Stephen Harper's dead,' was admonished for upsetting her kids



AT A MILITARY GROUNDS IN FREDERICKSBURG, 2006, before her adoption at 24 Sussex Drive

power resides with Harper, his chief of staff Ian Borden, Laureen and Kevin Lynch, clerk of the Privy Council or with Harper, Laureen and Borden. An Ottawa insider scoffs. "He rules from behind."

Still, Laureen Harper is a regular presence at informal cabinet-related dinners and committee meetings, says Joffe. "She's very not

be in the conversations. And he's input is very welcome. She's played into almost everything. If you ask any cabinet member, they're excited to hear her passion and her thoughts because she's such a policy animal but very thoughtful in those areas." Her concern over the care and feeding of Canada is said to have extended to administering to the emotionally drained Peter MacKay after his breakup with Belinda Stronach.

Laureen Harper's mantra has become how average and ordinary the Harper family is, how only to put care of their lives has changed since moving to the prime minister's residence—as if saying it enough makes it true. Yet so much of her new life is not ordinary. The current RCMP chief is a brother, says a friend. "Laureen would like to just jump on her motorcycle and say 'Away we go.'" The effect on her children is a worry, says her cousin. "When we were kids we'd go taking down the river and who knows where we'd end up? I think she'd like that experience for her own children, but at that time it's not a reality." Her own experiences are not with friends, like one to see Halifax singer Matt Mays of Caspian Gospel sing at a local club, and back-biting lessons with the Governor General, Michaëlle Jean, with whom her husband is not nearly so close.

One Ottawa observer sees Harper as an anomaly among Canadian prime ministers' wives. "She's an odd mixture of easy and unassuming, savvy and brutal politeness with the plodding, ponderous, unchanging character of political life in Ottawa. How does she stand it—and here is the question you keep hearing." That the Harper marriage has come under scrutiny is unsurprising given the past few years of the life. Yet along these lines, the Harper is changing in their new roles. "They have to tell stories about Vladimir Putin's dog and how Barack Obama spoke at about five words a minute. To hear them, you'd think they'd been watching their way to 24 Sussex for the last 30 years. Yet that's not what that's like. It's like every morning, the Harpers' window will contain a tapestry, though every politician suggests that, contrary to Marjorie Perle's adage, the women behind the successful man is not not praised one bit."

With files from Nicholas Kibler

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WHAT REALLY DOESN'T WORK IN AFGHANISTAN

"They will be able to do much more by 2009, but the numbers are small. I don't think it is possible to put Western fire units on this. It's going to be a long-term project and we cannot be impatient. Impatience doesn't work in Afghanistan." —James A. Baker, head of a British House of Commons defence committee subcommittee when Afghan forces had more respect from NATO troops, including those from Canada, due to leave in 2009.



A RECENT POLL found that 66 per cent of Quebecers think the sovereigntist option has "withered or regressed" since the '95 referendum.

THE END OF SEPARATISM?

The movement is weak, and is turning on the ordinary Quebecer

BY MARITIN PATRICHON • Pierre Falardeau wants to follow Quebecers to know that they are busy, stupid and far too self-absorbed for their own good.

For Falardeau, Canada is an evil and evil thing, and the Quebecers and separatist separatists have made a career of cataloguing the country's "neo-colonialist" treatment of French Quebec—often with generous subsidies. Since 1982, the sovereignty movement has nearly turned Quebecers' indifference to the anniversary of the 1995 referendum, arguably the worst and most important event in Quebec's history—has the paralytic rank in a funk. "It was not as big of an event as it should have been, and it shows the morose state of the separatist movement," Jean Doron, president of La Société Saint-Jean Baptiste, told a newspaper recently. And Canada doesn't have its politicians to thank for this, that honour goes to the vast

majority of Quebecers themselves. Marie Desmarès's Action Démocratique du Québec swarmed into a federal opposition largely by attracting the proteotypical suburbanite who hasn't much use for or interest in Quebec's linguistic obsessions—the very type of voter Falardeau despises. And after suffering its worst electoral defeat in 34 years, the Parti Québécois has "defended the total ignorance of Quebecers" and placed the party's referendum platform on hold indefinitely.

A recent poll published in *La Presse* showed some 56 per cent of Quebecers think the sovereignty option "has withered or regressed" since the 1995 referendum. The same poll also revealed a sentiment that may surprise those who think the province always has one foot outside Confederation: 81 per cent of French Quebecers said they were proud to be Canadian, the highest it's been in 30 years. According to a similar Lévesque-Lapointe poll, the majority of voters were again no longer behind the province's bid to ever separate from the country. Even former PQ prime minister Bernard Landry says "being Canadian isn't

unpleasant"—high praise from a man who once referred to the Canadian flag as "a piece of red rag."

All this has had facets of Falardeau's life in a funk. "We aren't going to ourselves, the independent movement is crumbling away," says Patrick Boivin, publisher of the top-selling newspaper *Le Québec*. "I didn't want to write an obituary, but we have a population that is politically uninterested and doesn't have a knowledge of its own history." Quebecers have become "stupid," echoes book publisher Michel Brille. "We have a small people's mentality."

Doron's lament to be like the 10,000-core nationalists, Quebec sovereignty is a great and noble cause, the final and ultimate righting of all injustices related upon the French throughout Canadian history. The Parti Québécois has long had a somewhat romantic notion of its typical voter: he is a likely uneducated French, working class, and has nothing but contempt for his English neighbours near door and at large.

Flash forward 34 years and the only disdain some nationalists seem to possess is for Jean G. P. Québec. "This is what interests them: things, history, culture, swimming pools, fast

food restaurants and hot dogs," wrote one journalist on the *Le Québec* website. "Our people will die of stupidity," wrote another. "We are going into the age of film Gnosticism," Michel Brille complains, referring to the selfish caricature of the Ugly Quebecer. "When you have two million people watching something like [French reality television show] *Let's Stay*, you have to ask yourself questions." Boivin says Quebecers are drinking more wine into "comfort and indifference," the title of Doron Anselmi's 1982 film extolling Quebec's rejection of sovereignty. "It's about individual accomplishments, like having a good career and a nice family. They say, 'Why should we break our head over collective problems? The subject is no longer in fashion.'"

"We are scared, we are frightened," says noted firebrand Yves Michaud, a close friend of Landry's. "French Quebecers vote 'No' because they are scared and because big business is allied with the English minority."

Whether it be fear, disaffection or simply frustration with the endless chronic over Quebec's future, the much more than that: typical Quebec voter is certainly a source

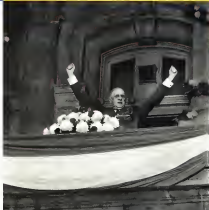
being. Today, the average Quebecer is most likely to be bilingual and long ago moved to the suburbs or the suburbs (Quebec is home to seven of the country's 20 fastest growing municipalities). It's also home to Canada's oldest population, check full of baby boomers for whom sovereignty remains a dream that, while pleasant enough, pales in the shadow of health concerns, pension cheques and away after of life's realities.

"There are a lot of people who are sovereignist at heart but who say, 'I'm 50 years old, I'm close to retirement, the fight is behind me, and I'm so overwhelmed I prefer to forget about it,'" says Jean-François Lévesque, a noted socialist, journalist and former

editor of *Le Québec*. "We are scared, we are frightened," says noted firebrand Yves Michaud, a close friend of Landry's. "French Quebecers vote 'No' because they are scared and because big business is allied with the English minority."

Whether it be fear, disaffection or simply frustration with the endless chronic over Quebec's future, the much more than that: typical Quebec voter is certainly a source

85 PER CENT OF FRENCH QUEBECERS ARE PROUD CANADIANS—A 20-YEAR HIGH



ELVIS GRATTON (above), the star of Falardeau's 1995 film, *On Gaspésie*, the 1995 film *Yves le Québec* (below) in 1997

side in *Pigiste* MMA, Jean-Pierre Charbonneau. While that voter may not yet have a Canadian flag flying in the yard, he is no longer taken by the sovereignty fan's appeal for the collective push out of Canada. Quite simply, he has other things on his mind.

Even Quebec's anti-separatist movement's birds and bees, now for the most part stay away from any political label that might harm their bottom line. "I'm not a separatist," says Jean-Luc Méthé, one of the few to declare his political affiliation in their political campaign. (An exception, he supported Québec solidaire.) "They aren't stupid. They are suburban they are less. They don't want to offend any of their potential audiences. Look at our biggest selling artists. They don't pronounce themselves, they don't talk about it."

For sovereigntists, the outlook is grim even among the province's youth, traditionally the hotbed of nationalist sentiment. Young

people today, wrote newspaper columnist Stéphane Laporte recently, are more likely to "brim in Acadian fire and seem more interested in saving the planet than their language."

Others still, particularly in the Quebec heartland, don't see the problem in the PQ's stubbornly first-period, open Lévesque frontism: "The PQ has taken the young people for granted. They haven't done anything to recruit young people. As the leaders consider they assumed the young people would take their place. They haven't." (The PQ isn't helping its own cause: the party's youth website still focuses on its association of former leader André Bessière urging young voters to "get rid of Mr. Charest"—nearly four months after Mr. Charest was re-elected and two months after Bessière himself quit under pressure from party hard-liners.)

While the young and old stay away and moves, the movement faces yet another threat: no permanent inability to draw support from immigrants, on which the province depends to pay up its ageing birth rate. Not only does Quebec have 44 fully trained immigrants—the province loses more immigrants to other provinces than it attracts from there, notes lawyer and demographer Patrice Michois—those who remain are more often than not staunch federalists who, according to a number of surveys, would vote overwhelmingly "No" in a referendum to secede on ethnic vote," as former premier Jacques Parizeau deviously put it in 1995, continues to plague sovereignty.

"It takes time," concedes Bernard Landry, today a professor at Concordia University. "We chose the route of democracy, and it is slow, but I like the more than violence."

Despite Parizeau's obvious comments, and though Landry himself has said any referendum goal higher than 50 per cent plus one "gives very little to our national project or our commitment to brotherhood and status in the continental community," the resolute sovereignty movement is making trouble with immigrants. "It's almost certain that we have the majority of Latino-Americans or even black," Landry says, adding, "anyone attempting to discredit the sovereignty movement on ethnic lines is dealing in ethnic legends."

Perhaps. But for people like Patrick Boag, for whom Quebec separatism remains the be-all and end-all, new arrivals pose a

particular annoyance. On average, first-generation immigrant women have three babies, nearly double that of a Quebecois couple, and are more likely to move to the Montreal region than anywhere else in the province.

This leads well for sovereign parties like the PQ, at least in elections, because their support comes from the regions outside the city. But in the event of another referendum, the last vestige of Montreal's 1960s nationalism, what Michois calls "a very important voting block," will likely go "No." Though Jean Charest's Liberals won the last election, it costed the lowest franc-



SEPARATISTS HAVE TURNED ON AVERAGE QUEBECERS: 'THEY'VE BECOME IMBECILES THIS IS A POPULATION THAT LIVES IN THE SUBURBS AND SHOPS AT WAL-MART.'



BOISCLAIR (top) and other protesters from PQ hard-liners, Landry (bottom right) thinks the movement's newing friends with immigrants, Muslim women with Alleville, Que. to address the town's role in immigrants

phone vote in the party's history "The Ethnic Party of Quebec is nothing but a party for immigrants and Anglos," wrote an associate on Parizeau's website.

"This, of course, is if there is another referendum at all. Marc Duhaime had reportedly said that saying Quebec's out from Canada isn't in the cards. "There is no going to be a referendum" in the event of an ADQ government, said ADQ spokesperson Jean-Michel Gagné. "Not in the first mandate and not in the second."

Meanwhile, newly elected PQ leader Bernard Landry took the job on the condition that the pursuit of sovereignty, the party's raison d'être and article No. 1 of its charter, be established and firmly—officially recon-

firming the party's hard-core sovereignty flank. "Support for the PQ has been eroding since 1994" because of the party's "irresponsible obsession," Masson wrote in his inaugural message to party members. "In trying to do what we thought best for people, we forgot to listen to what they thought was best for themselves." (Masson declined to be interviewed for this story.)

She had yet to respond from a post-election election vacuum when that flank began to fight back, and it remains to be seen whether she will be able to keep it in check. History hasn't been kind to PQ leaders who dare away from the party's path: every one save for Jacques Parizeau and Bernard Landry was pushed out of office as a result. "A party that fails



to postpone its reason for coming cannot expect the confidence of its electors," said Université de Moncton professor Denis Mulvaney recently. "How can public opinion change in favour of sovereignty if we talk about it ourselves, priests and politicians?"

How indeed? "We're it's all up to former MNA Yves Michaud, the PQ would indeed forge another referendum until it had put in place several of what he calls "acts of sovereignty" such as full Quebec citizenship and a constitution, said a Quebec delegation to the United Nations and pursue an "extremely aggressive" family-friendly policy to increase a larger part of its income, Quebecois.

Michael also hopes the PQ will make French CEGEP mandatory for all incoming immigrants so that they are more likely to become sovereignists—inspiring many recent arrivals in Quebec would be a bonus. "If you have to join the army, how can you take offense in the language of their choice. "Half of the immigrants go to French CEGEP. They might speak French, but how many of them would vote 'Yes'?" he asks.

GIVEN THE HIGH PERCENTAGE of supposedly proud Canadians in Quebec, you'd think the Maple Leaf would be hanging from every



THE 'YES' SIDE has been in full tilt since the referendum, Bernie Stolt took over the PQ on the condition that the pursuit of sovereignty be set aside

chief columnist for *La Presse*, arguably the province's most influential newspaper. He is a perfect example: a federalist considered a party and by the *Antichrist* by most sovereignty activists, Parizeau nonetheless considered himself to be a Quebecer first. "There is nothing harmful that Quebecers consider themselves Quebecers first and Canadians second. If you asked the same question in Newfoundland people would first consider themselves to be Newfoundlanders. That's normal in a country as diverse as Canada, and the country's challenge is to protect all this so that people can keep their identities and participate in the Canadian project." Support for separatism is stable between 40 and 45 per cent, he says, thanks in part to old constitutional

issues like the Meech Lake and Charlottetown, as well as a sense that the rest of the country doesn't quite understand Quebec's need to protect its language and culture.

The trouble in Quebec, Parizeau suggests, is that for all its apparent fervor, federalism simply isn't strong. The sovereignty movement appeals directly to Quebecers' collective insecurities—it can't be pinned on a T-shirt or a golf ball, as the country found out during the Quebec commission. "Laying the duty of Quebec nationalism is simple enough, but finding a proud Quebecer isn't—it's the feeling without fact, you know they're there, but damned if you can catch one."

"When Quebec's seven great speaks: there are very few people to answer them, because federalism isn't specific all that often, and not very loud. It's a shame, because if you look at the history of all the conflicts between Quebec and the feds, you see that most of the problems go solved. Look at worker training, fiscal balance, immigration. There were all

major problems that sovereignty argued threatened independence, but they were solved. It means separatists have to change their target all the time."

The targets may change, but the rhetoric stays stubbornly the same. Predicting the death of the new separatism is an exercise in futility, "the movement will weaken under the circumstances but will never disappear," says Lévesque. "Thursday. Unable to vote for André Bessière, thousands of separatists packed their votes with the ADQ during the last election, and it remains to be seen if they will come back with Mérois at the helm."

That much is certain, however the strength of the sovereignty movement is inversely related to the amount of voters in Quebecers themselves—which is a whole lot these days. If Parizeau's speech is any indication, "Quebecers are married up," as one of the people he claims to love. "They're always been married up and they are still married up. To me, the media we have, it's not surprising that people are soth friends."

It is a headbangingly ironic statement. All French Quebecers, Parizeau and even party bigwig, want separation, they're just too weak-willed to achieve it. Given the state of separatism, though, one wonders if Quebecers are even listening anymore. ■

Bill 101: A gift we never expected

Once branded racist, it's put Quebec at ease, and may have saved Canada

BY BENJAMIN ABRIN • Now that the racial, sectarian movement has morphed into indifference and oblivion, maybe someone will suggest a nostalgic monument along Bay Street to show gratitude for the man who triggered a Marshall Plan to boost Toronto's economy 30 years ago. **Emile Lauro**

A Quebec politician, a separatist cabinet minister, and a psychomotorist with an attitude (he dyed his hair jet black, smoked his Black Indians perched between the thumb and the index finger of his upturned palm), Lauro ended up many as 100,000 well off, well educated, fully employed English-speaking Montrealers to choose the 401 over 104—and to reserve themselves, their jobs, their savings and their children from the province other than for the prospect of having to learn to speak French.

Lauro's language law, the infamous Bill 101, was grandfathered down and jettisoned years ago on Aug. 27 and, yes, the earth shook.

Lauro was Bill 101 as much more than a great language law. It was a bold attempt at altering social order—used for the outcome of a race military conquest. Thirty years ago, the rich and powerful English-speaking minority was the dominant group, bilingualism was a one-sided burden for francophones, and immigrants were assimilating miserably into English.

Lauro's Charter of the French Language proclaimed that every Quebec resident had the right to work, study, shop, be admitted to school, created and judged in French, everywhere, all the time. The law was a radical departure from established practices at the time. It forced all immigrants' children into the French school system. It sent the children of English-speaking Canadians from outside Quebec had to study in French too. It made English illegal on public signs, and said the law and tribunals would be in French only these last three provisions were in Latin only down after lengthy court battles. But Lauro stubbornly stuck to his bering to make French the common public language in Quebec, like it or not.

"Clearly, Lauro wanted to strike a blow, and produce a shock therapy, powerful enough to break inequalities," says Guy Rocher, the

premier's Montreal sociologist who still updates and writes today at 85. He was Lauro's head picked deputy minister at the time. "I can still hear him say 'what we're doing now will have long-term repercussions, and effects that will be irreversible.'"

The macho and invincible repercussions, now, but which ones? What's clear today is that very day at the time could predict the long-term effects of that Charter of the French Language with any accuracy. For instance:

"The law's aim, in Lauro's words, was to make Montreal a French city as Toronto is English," in fact, Montreal today boasts the highest proportion of people speaking three languages or more in North America.

"The law was extraordinarily attractive to immigrants, not just in Quebec, but in the 'cultural engineering' and 'skin notching' were pushed. But in fact, it is creating a multicultural melting pot out of the old homogeneous and ethnically diverse Quebecois, all at once diluting it and eradicating it."



for new arrivals, a new behaviour to develop and so on. "I know couldn't be asked how we're doing today, he passed away in 1999. But new arrivals have come too, indeed Bill 101 has opened a new level, say even slowish, the bilingual Anglo-Saxon percentage of those who stayed in Quebec, or have migrated there since, can speak French. More than half of all those whose mother tongue was not French nor English can now converse in those two languages, 75 per cent are able to maintain a conversation in French.

"I feel sorry for all those who fled the province, but now we know they didn't have to, they paraded for a good reason," says Julian Grier, a well known Montreal lawyer—who has fought some chapters of the law in court, and won. According to Grier "as a current form, Bill 101 is as essential law, it has been good for anglophones, the immigrants, for everyone." Then, he bursts out laughing. "If you'd told me 30 years ago that I'd say today that Bill 101 has essentially had only positive

aspects as a member of any minority now."

The so-called linguistic peace, it used to be that the more so Lauro's legislation, was the divide between French and English speaking Montreal. It has become a real surprise where everybody converges. Young Anglos can now go out and speak English (and he lead, as do the Anglos as they tend to be) in French neighborhoods without fear because it is possessed they could also speak in French first readily a signpost led on Sherbrooke Street was the last knowing that "I can now be in three languages." New attitudes, indeed.

English-speakers are the first to feel the heat, but few understood at the time that francophones would be the ones absorbing the full brunt of the law. They still struggle today to speak in their new predicament. "The law showed immigrants they could indeed understand and interact with the state now," says Senator Josee Falaris, who's been a central figure in Quebec's language dispute, as the chief editorial writer in the Montreal Gazette. "Ministers tend to blame others for their problems. Francophone Quebecers on only couldn't keep moving themselves as well as they, after passing that law."

'ANGLOS PANICKED FOR NO GOOD REASON. IT'S BEEN GOOD FOR ANGLOS, IMMIGRANTS, EVERYONE.'

By facing its enemies to manage their personal, public papers and some their own business, the law was an effective action, rather than a mere threat to the higher culture. That worked. At the time, 60 million more of English-speaking households was between 20 and 30 per cent above the provincial average. That's changed. Today, within spend more every among all established cultural groups. How often will appear mostly in English, of course, but as often as not, it's a francophone speaking family in the corner office. "If your house speaks French, it's a good intrinsic life change," says Michel Nadine, a far more grandiose at the Chateau de Dejeu.

its greatest achievement," says Marjorie Potvin, a specialist of inter-ethnic relations. "There's a real, unique culture at work in Montreal at the moment. We didn't see that coming because we underestimated the ability of the various communities to adapt and adapt. But that cultural mosaic is now so deeply ingrained into the Montrealer's life that it's almost as if it were a natural part of the city's fabric."

Facing business to organize in French in Quebec is as powerful a new language strategy—multinational and corporate software, strategically banks, linguistic planning and management—in which Quebec has developed a leading expertise, one that globalizers have made very valuable almost everywhere. Quebec's French-speaking environment, park and urban areas that are now widely used. Microsoft, Toyota and Wal-Mart are using Quebec terminology books. Other bilingual centres—Spain, Belgium—use a letter after in this expertise.

Thirty years after teaching off one of the most severe political storms of the last century, Bill 101 has all but disappeared from headlines. "Language is still a major concern, a sticky topic, but the law has all but washed them from the minds," says Claude Bergeron, of the Office de la langue française. So Lauro, the shrewd, had been right at that point we have language change.

But the law has also killed many francophone Quebecers into a state of false security, says Potvin. "Francophones should stop as if it and get busy learning English, or else." "Those who profited the most from francophone anglophones and immigrants, she says. Francophones lag way behind in bilingualism, multilingualism. "If they're not careful, they risk being isolated, in a context of globalization."

But did languages die hard. Thirty years ago, bilingualism offered francophones—a one-way obligation to francophones as a demand that the loss and the loss. All that has changed, but the situation has remained. "The paradox today is that French has never been stronger and louder in the English-speaking world than it is now. It's not just a language, it's a way of life," says Pierre Gosselin, a language specialist. The struggle between French and English in Montreal used to be a classic example of social, capital and political conflict. "But that's the past, now, French," Gosselin says. "Today, the pressure on francophones, not from outside, but from globalization, new technologies, the Internet."

Lauro's language law has rid generations of Quebec francophones of their past as a once conquered colony. They're still a tiny minority, still facing an array of tough challenges. And, they're still Canadian. ■



PROTESTS (above), Emile Lauro (top) though the law would make Montreal as French as Toronto in English. Today, the city boasts a huge population who speak three languages



PROTESTS (above), Emile Lauro (top) though the law would make Montreal as French as Toronto in English. Today, the city boasts a huge population who speak three languages

ing beyond recognition. In Lauro's mind, Bill 101 was going to generate the momentum that would propel Quebec toward political independence. It has had the opposite effect. By forcing francophones to speak French, it has created a new French identity, one that is now being embraced by many in the anglophone community. "We, as a people, we must not

allow ourselves to be divided by the language of the state," says Lauro. "We must not allow ourselves to be divided by the language of the state."

effort, I would have been surprised, but that's the one "Guy says that in my opinion, (Lauro's French). Imposing French as the common public language has eliminated the old linguistic and cultural divide in Montreal, he says. "It has been a liberation for everyone. I used to see myself as a Quebec Anglo, but I don't think I'll call myself that today. I don't view

Thirty years ago, 80 per cent of all anglophone children registered into an English language school board. The tables have turned—now, 80 per cent study in French. They have, without much of a fuss, become a new breed too: the children of Bill 101—a multiethnic, multi-lingual melting pot. "That's the most striking consequence of the law, and the new cultural mix that has resulted

Shall I compare thee to a hyena?

Maclean's asked Canadians to match our politicians with animals and consumer products. The truth wasn't pretty.

BY JONATHAN GATEHOUSE In a way, it's astonishing that Canadians like Stephen Dion to a hyena. Because if he were a hyena, there'd be a strong temptation to take him out behind the barn and put him out of his misery.

Reviews of the performance of the newish leader of the Liberal Party of Canada have been tepid thus far. (Although the latest opinion polls have his party close to the ruling Conservatives, Dion seems the choice for best prime minister, well behind Stephen Harper and Jack Layton.) But a less conventional Maclean's survey of Canadian voters suggests the former minister's future's huge problems may run even deeper than a simple one.

Hotpep, a Toronto-based market research firm that measures people's rational and emotional responses to consumer products and brands, applied its methodology to the leaders of Canada's four major parties. And their findings are anything but encouraging for Liberal hopes of selling their new chief to a skeptical public.

When voters were asked to match the leaders, and selected celebrities, to animal and consumer products, the initial response for the prime-minister and vice-president was somewhat predictable. But asked to dig deeper, they compared Harper to an industrial suit, busy bee, or proud peacock. The NDP's Jack Layton was a wacky old, friendly dog, or an intelligent dolphin. In contrast, Dion was rated almost scrawny, slow, or a disposable pet like a fish and heron.

Only the Bloc's Gilles Duceppe fared worse, evoking voter images of a stubborn donkey, or pecky black bear and marmoset—lumpy, perhaps, a reflection of the opinions of English Canadians.

Oddly, Duceppe's animal profile was almost identical to that of Sacha Baron Cohen's Borat. On the other hand, U.S. singer Bruno was an eagle, stoned about as our cursed governor Arnold Schwarzenegger was, fittingly, a real lion, and Puss in Boots, a drunken. Political science students searching for an easy topic might like to tackle why Canadians view

George W. Bush and Osama Bin Laden as mostly the same animals—hyenas, rats, snakes—although the terrorist assassin was also a deadly scorpion.

The bad news continued for Dion when voters were queried about their perceptions of our leader's policies, personalities and the feelings they engender. Hotpep's online surveys placed six different animals that influence or drive people's decisions. The Liberal leader is not strongly associated with any of the Top 20 icons that might associate

Canadians in their own skulls. And even on the environment—Dion's key life, but only a "lip service" consider of voters according to the survey—he falls behind Jack Layton. One explanation might be mentioned again about past Liberal governments: Just 10 per cent of respondents judged Dion to be strong or accountable, the lowest score among the four party chiefs.

Public views of the Liberal leader's capabilities also seem bleak. In comparison to his opponents, he received the lowest scores for his professionalism (20 per cent), common sense skills (14 per cent), confidence (11 per cent) and attractiveness (10 per cent). On the flip side, voters gave him the highest marks in integrity (46 per cent) and honesty (40 per cent).

Most people initially compared the politicians to rats. But once past the obvious, the responses are quite telling.



STÉPHANE DION (Hyena)



STEPHEN HARPER (Snake)



GILLES DUCEPPE (Donkey)



JACK LAYTON (Dog)



GEORGE W. BUSH (Hyena)



OSAMA BIN LADEN (Scorpion)



PATSY HILTON (Chicken)

BOBART (Black Fly)

BOBART (Black Fly)

(30 per cent each) and cowardly (26 per cent). Just 11 per cent judged Dion to be tough, 12 per cent said cowardly, and eight per cent said fearless. And many of the negative impressions appear to be shared by Liberal supporters: 29 per cent of his own voters called him unattractive, 26 per cent cowardly.

But the deadliest numbers, it seems, is the 45 per cent of Canadians who judge Dion the country's most "boring" choice. "The first hurdle any brand or persona has to cross is getting attention. When boring is high, there is never anything else," says Ted Langschmidt, Hotpep's creative vice president. "It's the archetypal little grey man."

The findings are based on the results of two separate survey conducted by Hotpep's online panels between July 6 and 16, 2007. The weighted sample of 5,500 and 5,700 voters are considered accurate to ± 2.2 per cent points, 19 times out of 20.

Of course, with an election well months, if not years, away, Dion has time to change public opinion. After all, Stephen Harper overcame brutal reviews during his first months as Conservative leader to become prime minister—almost on his second try. And it's not as if Canadians are particularly snooty about any of their choices. Asked to rate the top leaders on a scale of one to 10, only Gilles Duceppe, 5.2, and Jack Layton, 5.5, received (borderline) passing grades. Not even the beauty queen of the ill-fated, Dion came last with a 3.6, behind Harper's 4.5.

A potential bright spot for the opposition parties is that the Prime Minister's own baggage doesn't appear to have become much lighter during his time in power. His was judged to be significantly colder or meaner (31 per cent) than the other leaders, as well as unfriendly (12 per cent). Other negative characterizations that voters seemed to him were arrogant (37 per cent), hypocritical (36 per cent) and self-interest (14 per cent). But relatively few Conservative supporters share those opinions.

And Harper does score well on qualities like persistence (54 per cent) and bulldozing (54 per cent). He is also judged to be the toughest (18 per cent) and most sober (40 per cent) of the leaders. Most impressively for Conservative fortunes, their leader is strongly associated with a number of issues that they have made "priorities": like trade, taxes, the economy, crime control, reform and even foreign policy.

When it comes to Gilles Duceppe, perceptions differ depending on which language the questions are asked in. Francophone Quebecers rate the Bloc leader highest on issues like education (47 per cent) and honesty and integrity (40 per cent). A full 15 per cent even go as far as saying they are "turned on" by

All four political leaders could use a little bit of work on their branding



STEPHEN HARPER & HATEHAT



JACK LAYTON & HATE



STÉPHANE DION & U-Haul



GILLES DUCEPPE & GUNK

him, a response rate that blows his competitors out of the water. (Only 10 per cent of Canadians admit the same thing about Layton, none per cent for Harper, and just three per cent for Dion.) Anglophone Quebecers, on the other hand, are almost unanimously negative about the Bloc's lead choice—58 per cent say they dislike him, only 13 per cent view him as practical, nine per cent as emotionally stable. There is some common ground between the two sub-regions, however. Both groups agree Duceppe is arrogant and unbalanced.

(36 per cent for Francophones, 31 per cent for anglos; and not surprised (18 per cent versus 42 per cent).

In questions of personality and personality, the hands-down winner appears to be Jack Layton. Not only does he "own" trial (40 per cent) over his human rights, the fight against poverty, and protection of the environment, he scores higher than his opponents on values and integrity (37 per cent) and perhaps most marginally in second, behind Harper, on crime control. Still, Jack is the best of the best (39 per cent), most trusted (34 per cent), and most confident (32 per cent). The last of the top-ranking politicians, 41 per cent of respondents judged him cunning, 41 per cent cold and calculating, 35 per cent called him a role model. As well, Layton is viewed as the most sincere (39 per cent), honest (45 per cent) and most honest (14 per cent). Which all begs the question of why the NDP is rated in third place?

It may simply be a case of nice guys finishing last. Layton is significantly more appealing, it seems, than the party he leads. Voters are uncomfortable with the NDP as the country's government, but are comfortable with it as the government. "It's surprising to think that Layton could become prime minister if only he would cross the floor to the Liberals," says Hotpep's Langschmidt. "But if he did that, all of his positives would disappear. He'd be a 'rat,' just like the rest of them."

As a final test of popularity, Hotpep took the leaders' profiles and matched them to consumers' responses to well-known brands. The results were equally disheartening. Harper's wild, serious and practical persona mapped close to MasterCard and Volkswagen. Layton's witty quip, leadership and clean aura put him in the same league as Colgate and Tide. Duceppe is like Dior, perhaps a prophetic reaction to his "scrum" and Dion, while cognitively associated with reliable profits, is consistently like down-market U-Haul. Taper here. ■

For more on the survey of our political leaders, visit www.hotpep.ca

Going nuclear may not be the answer

BY SIOBHAN TAYLOR • *Amal* growing pains
are not unlike those of other energy sources,
governments at home and abroad are trying
to find nuclear power—safely—despite the fact
the environmental catastrophe it produced in
the '70s and '80s—as an answer to the climate
change crisis.



A STUDY suggests leukemia rates
in kids are higher near nuclear sites

But its proponents may be getting ahead
of themselves, cautions P. J. Baker, a senior
biochemist at St. Onovis Children's Hospital,
which conducts research for pharmaceutical
companies. As a Ph.D. candidate at the Med
Univ of South Carolina, Baker analyzed
157 different studies on leukemia rates
in children living near nuclear sites. Although
hundreds of these studies have been
conducted, most of which found no significant
connections, they have generally involved
populations too small to offer broad conclu-
sions. Baker's study, published in the
European Journal of Cancer, studies the first
attempt to summarize past findings from
around the world. After processing the col-
lection data, which covered 145 nuclear sites
in seven countries, including Canada, Baker
concluded that there does appear to be links
between leukemia sites and childhood leu-
kemia. In fact, children ages nine and under
living near nuclear facilities are 14 to 21 per
cent more likely to be diagnosed with the
disease than the average child, and are five
to 24 per cent more likely to die from it.

"It was a bit of a surprise to us," Baker says.
But, he adds, he still cannot definitively con-
clude the radiation causing from the sites is
actually causing the increased cancer rates.
"But, when we're talking about going back to
nuclear energy, I think it's something that
we have to look at again," White Baker insists
he doesn't intend to start a panic, he admits
he wouldn't move his wife and young daugh-
ter next door to a nuclear site, either. ■

Is your doctor sharp enough: a test will tell

BY CATHY GUILLE • Overworked doctors
will now have one more thing to do, demon-
strate that they are up to the job. Physicians
and surgeons are being forced to prove their
competence every year in medical regulatory
authorities in each province emphasize this
duty: "continuous professional develop-
ment" programs. Quebec, Saskatchewan and
Ontario are among the first to switch from
the voluntary model. Doctors have to com-
plete one of several programs, which require
written reflections on their work and partici-
pation in activities such as conferences.

The call for mandatory programs goes back
a few years to a British medical scandal involving
public safety, which became a hot topic
among politicians. But not everyone is excited.
"There's been a long history of push back," says
Dr. David Blackman, president of the Federation
of Medical Regulatory Authorities of Canada.
"Much of it flows from misunderstanding."
Doctors feel threatened that non-competence
could lead to immediate revocation (or their
license). "In fact, doctors who don't meet
requirements will first face a process that will
give them a chance to improve, and on rare occasions
will be so different, doctors will be prohibited
from practicing in other parts of the country."



SOME DOCS are upset about the
move to mandatory evaluation

Blackman believes this won't happen because
the provinces work together. "We don't want
to impede mobility," he says. And some
observers actually want more peer reviews of
doctors—a timely, costly procedure.

But the most serious concern is that the
programs will make more work for busy doc-
tors. "We're worried that there is a serious
physician shortage," says Dr. Suzanne Straus-
berg, chair of the committee on revivification
for the Ontario Medical Association. "We
need to make sure the programs aren't overly
burdensome or time-consuming." ■

Quick change of plan: UN aid looks safe

BY JOHN GEDDES • When it comes to Can-
ada's place in the world, the story of the past
few years has been all Afghanistan: all the
time. It's not just the passing military mis-
sion (54 killed in combat and several stricken,
plus 11 Canadian soldiers and five killed). There's
also the daunting task of rebuilding one of
the poorest, most war-torn nations. Afghan-
istan will soak up about \$1 billion in Cana-
dian aid between 2001 and 2003, more than
any other country. But neither the fighting
nor the giving are guaranteed to produce
success stories, so the political calculations



ANYWHERE but Afghanistan: the
PM shifts gears on foreign policy

is somewhat different. By the Conservatives
to change the channel, it's not hard to see why
wager all the government's foreign policy
credibility on a single risky bet?

Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Latin
American tour was the highest profile bid to
win the field of vision, a chance to position
him, for once, far from the hot hot hot zone
of Islamic extremism, in the safer ground of
hemispheric trade and development. Less
obvious, but just as noteworthy, was this week's
announcement by International Cooperation
Minister Joe Clark, who is responsible for
aid, of a new \$125-million contribution to
the UN's World Food Programme, enough
to make Canada a major player among donors
to the world's largest humanitarian agency.

Government officials pushed the new
money primarily as a reminder that federal
aid is not more than Afghanistan. (The
UN's WFP works mainly in Africa.) And
Clark noted that the UN's Foreign Affairs
Minister Peter MacKay is currently work-
ing on a plan to reduce federal aid spending,
often criticized for being spread too thinly
among many countries and projects. The
drama of the new strategy remains secret, but
the message is clear: if Afghanistan won't be
allowed to dominate it. ■

Praise Cod, Almighty! They're Back!

BY JULIA ROBINSON • "People are happy
the fish are big," says Danny Landen, 33,
of Upper Glades, Nfld. Recreational cod
fishing opened last week to all residents of
Newfoundland and Labrador: no fishing
license required, a daily limit of five codfish
per person. This year's "food fishery" season
runs from July 15th to August 15th with
fishermen along the Avalon Peninsula report-
ing larger and more plentiful fish than they've
seen in years.

Mervyn Humber, a scientist from Deerfield,
recently saw something he hasn't for "years
and years"—codfish rolling on the beach. "My
son-in-law was picking them up himself.
I say there's no cod, but when they're
rolling on the beach, what does that tell you?"
Humber says he spoke with an 80-year-old
local resident. "He'd never seen the like of
before," says Humber, adding that the fish
has never been so lucky by hand were "fair size,
nothing small."

On an overcast Day 2 of the season, Lan-

den's pulled his first going up to the wharf
at Holyrood, where a resident of Placentia
had caught his quota in 40 minutes. "Beasti-
ful," said Landen. He dangled a thick piece
of white fillet in the air, sitting the fish between
thumb and index finger. "That's got to be
2½ inches thick," he said. "And look at this!"
Landen's plan put his arm
into a bucket of sea water, pull-
ing up a severed cod's head.
"This has got to be eight inches
wide. This is what my
grandfather would call a driver
fish. That means big. This is
a driver size."

According to Landen, cod
stocks have rebounded. "They
sure," he said. "But the DFO will never
tell you that," he said. "I don't
know why, but they don't want
to tell you." On the contrary,
last week the Telegraph quoted
Bob Vance, a federal Depart-
ment of Fisheries and Oceans
official, as saying, "this year's cod are bigger
than we expected."

But Ron Barton, acting chief of enforce-
ment operations for the DFO was more dis-
satisfied. "Southern Labrador people seem
to be catching their fish very fast, whereas
other areas, they seem to have to work a little
harder," Barton said in a phone interview.
"With this year's fishery, we're going to do
a survey after we find out where people fished,
what was the size of the fish, how long did it
take them to catch their cod," said Barton,
who would neither confirm nor deny any
overall change to the size of
the stock. "It means, I haven't
been out fishing. I'm here in
the office. You may get that
information from some of the
fishers out there, and if you do,
that's great. But I don't have
that information. It's too early
to say." Scientists Dr. George
Roberts and Dr. George Rose
at Memorial University's Marine
Institute were unavailable for
comment.



THE COD ARE BIG
in Newfoundland this summer,
and the locals are
getting suspicious

"I've never heard anyone like that in my life-
time. I just hope the federal government
doesn't let everything go again, and use our
codfish as bait with the rest of the world,
and have all kinds of foreign vessels over-
fishing the cod stock again." ■

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ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL GOODMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

BARBARIANS AT THE GATE

The Taliban are gaining ground, and if NATO's will to confront them flags, the consequences for ordinary Afghans could be horrific
BY MICHAEL PETROU

In December 2001, holed up somewhere in the upper reaches of the cold and stormy Wharfedale mountains of eastern Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden was contemplating his prospects of staying alive for even a few more hours. His Taliban allies, who had sheltered him and provided him al Qaeda's terrorist organization with a base of operations for years, had been round. American and British special forces were crawling into the mountains toward the Tora Bora cave complex, and when his men emerged from cover they were cut down by air strikes. But Laden appeared doomed. Using a hand-held radio, he called out to his followers: CIA operatives on the slopes below picked up his message. "Forgive me," bin Laden begged his men, and he apologized for allowing them to become trapped by the Americans. Then he told them to jump.

Today, almost six years later, what then seemed impossible has transpired: Bin Laden survived the search on Tora Bora, and escaped into Pakistan. Worse, according to Pakistani and intelligence reports released last month in Britain and the United States, bin Laden's al Qaeda terrorist organization has recruited and trained the Federal Agency for Internal Security of Pakistan and a new Taliban force in Zabul province (above), a family massacre after a Taliban suicide attack.



stronger than it has been at any time since 2001, while in Afghanistan, the Taliban are gaining ground because of ineffective troops and resources committed to the fight by NATO member states.

What emerges from both these reports—by the Canadian defense minister in the U.S. and by the National Intelligence Council in the U.S.—is that despite losing every battle in which they have engaged NATO forces, the Taliban are far from defeated in Afghanistan and show the potential to grow stronger should NATO's will to confront them flag. The abduction of 21 Christian aid workers from South Korea and the murder of two of them by the Taliban shows their expanding their targets.

Among Canadians, however, support for Canada's military deployment in Afghanistan continues to slide. Even Prime Minister Stephen Harper, who once made a habit of announcing that Canadians didn't "retreat and run," now suggests that our combat-oriented mission will wrap up in February 2009. As one of the few reasons—along with Britain, the United States and the Netherlands—willing to bear the brunt of combat, Canada's shrinking commitment will almost certainly mean the end of the Taliban. The likely realization of this is not news. They make covering such losses for international terrorist networks and irreversibly damaging the credibility of the NATO military alliance. What is often forgotten, however, is what this will mean for Afghans, who will be left to fend for themselves under the anarchy of barbarians of the Taliban.

A taste of what lies in store for Afghans should the Taliban's influence and territorial control grow was demonstrated to residents of Ghazni, a tiny, mud-walled village in the mountains of northwestern Kandahar province. Canadian soldiers were recently deployed there to reinforce an Afghan army unit that had retaken the village from the Taliban. During the Taliban's brief occupation, however, they had ample opportunity to dole out their brand of justice: anyone those they judged to have "collaborated" with Afghanistan's own government. They beheaded a 10-year-old boy for the crime of giving bread to police. When the boy's father attempted to intervene, he was hanged from a tree.

These events are laid in their anarchy, but are not unique. According to a report released last night by Human Rights Watch, the Taliban and other insurgent groups such as Hizb-e-Islami killed about 700 Afghan civilians in at least 150 attacks last year. The pace of carnage has not slowed in 2007.

Such bombing, once almost unheard of in Afghanistan, is now a popular weapon in the Taliban arsenal. At least 116 suicide attacks were launched in 2006—a six-fold increase

over the previous year. Several of the suicide attacks have been children who were crushed or forced into becoming marionettes. This June, Afghan intelligence agents arrested 14-year-old Babulghal, a student at a Pashtun madrasa, or religious school, who was indoctrinated, sent to Afghanistan with orders to

THE TALIBAN BEHEADED A 10-YEAR-OLD BOY FOR GIVING BREAD TO POLICE, AND THEN HANGED HIS FATHER

kill an Afghan governor, and then threatened with death when he told his Taliban handlers that he was too afraid to carry out the attack. Afghan President Hamid Karzai said the boy and gave him money to return to Pakistan, describing him as an innocent pawn.

He was the only one. Also in June, Taliban militants dressed up as Justice of the Peace and a 10-year-old Afghan boy, in a suicide vest and told him it was spring. They gave him a pistol and a box of bullets and told him to go. The boy was killed in an attack on a police station in Kabul. Other children have not been as lucky. A video surfaced in April showing Taliban intercepting a boy of about 12 as he set off an alleged mine's head with a knife.

Many of the civilian victims of insurgent attacks are "collateral damage" from attacks against military or police targets; however, the human rights group notes that almost half of the attacks appear to have specifically targeted civilians. Victims include almost anyone who plays a role in Afghanistan's emerging civil society, such as aid workers, doctors, day laborers, students, clerics, engineers and government employees.

In one such attack in May 2006, four humanitarian workers traveling in the Jowzjan province of northern Afghanistan were shot dead by motorcycle-riding gunmen. Three of the victims were women, including one named Biba Sadat, whose work supported her family. Sadat's death left her husband, Mohamud Sadat, wondering how he could afford to keep the family's house. "She was a good wife. She was my best friend," Habibullah said. "Human Rights Watch 'I am not sure and the only thing I have found is depression. I have had enough of this world.'"

The biggest target of the Taliban's wrath, however, are teachers and anyone else involved in trying to educate Afghanistan's children, especially girls. "Simply put, the Taliban do not respect the very idea of culture," Human

Rahad, a journalist and one of the world's foremost journalists in the Taliban, wrote of the Taliban during their time in power. Nothing has changed. This is evident in the Taliban's disdain for everything from democracy and human rights to the Internet. But nothing offends their medieval sensibilities more than the prospect of women spending their minds.

Human Rights Watch notes that there were 190 reported bombings and arson attacks against Afghan schools in 2006, double the 91 in 2005. Afghanistan's own Ministry of Education says that there have been 444 attacks on schoolchildren last year, although some of these have been non-violent threats.

In January 2006, a school principal, Milad Abdul Hafeez, was behind a fence in front of his family in the provincial capital Qalat. Taliban insurgents had previously put up posters threatening schools for girls be closed and dismissing all teachers. Last December, gunmen climbed the walls of a residential compound in a village in the northeastern province of Nuristan and broke into the house belonging to two men who worked as school teachers. They murdered them, as well as their mother, grandmother and a male relative. Each man had received a letter from the Taliban warning them to stop teaching or "end up facing the penalty." Canadians have not escaped the Taliban's program against education. Mike Fossatich, a Vancouver carpenter who built a school with his own money, was murdered along with his son last July. Police believe his murders belonged to an anti-government group, likely Hizb-e-Islami.

Insults, especially girls, are not spared. Some are merely killed and beaten; others are murdered. The Qalat Sepidan School in central Afghanistan was once considered a success story. It was struck by bombs and bullets, but its teachers and administrators were undaunted, serving some 1,600 girls and boys who were eager to learn that they considered the school's 14 classrooms and had to sit in the hallway. Even so, the students needed to wear chador headscarves. In June, gunmen opened fire on a group of girls as they left school, killing two. The school has been renamed the Martyred Jinnah School, after one of the girls. But the students are afraid of any fraction now come to class. The school's principal, a woman, has resigned.

It is a tragedy to argue—though one does—that it is the presence of foreign troops that fuels this hatred. Many of those who opposed to NATO and Canada's presence in Afghanistan believe life for ordinary Afghans will improve should foreign troops pull out. They often describe themselves, after all, as "peace" or "anti-war" activists. It is true that far too many Afghan children have been

indirectly killed by NATO forces—often in an attack that targets themselves a by-product of foreign-led wars on the ground. How ever, there is little evidence to suggest the Taliban and similar Islamic militias such as Hizb-e-Islami will cease their campaign of violence against Afghans who are trying to lead their country out of the Dark Ages, at least to children, and provide a modicum of respect and dignity for its women.

Al-Qaida's Rahad predicts that should NATO scale back its military intervention before

it might be replaced, even today, under Maliki (Mohammad) Omar. This leadership is mostly something to talk, support the idea of talking to the Taliban. The question is when do you talk to? There is no such moderate faction today that we've seen.

Negotiating with the Taliban has, in fact, been attempted by NATO troops on a limited scale. Last year, a dual-wounded citizen, British forces agreed to leave the town of Musa Qala and its surrounding province, after the Taliban withdrew. The Taliban left temporarily but



WAR ZONE Canadian soldier searches a man in Helmand. Kids, school students after a blast.

Afghanistan's own security forces are able to confront and beat the Taliban on their own, such civil society as now exists would deteriorate. "All these efforts would be the province and come to Kabul," he said in an interview with Reuters, adding that in some areas the Taliban have already established a parallel administration, arranging for control and schooling (even allowing to Islamic law). "This sort of administration the Taliban are offering is going to be evolved eventually if they're able to take provinces."

Marvin Weinbaum, who worked as an Afghanist and Pakistan analyst for the U.S. State Department between 1999 and 2001, and is now a scholar-in-residence at the Middle East Institute, believes the consequences of a NATO pullout are more dire. "You'll see a return to civil war in Afghanistan, a total breakdown of the economy and the state, and far more Canadian than we're seeing now," he said.

Some argue that such an outcome might be avoided through diplomacy. NATO Leader Jack Layton, among others, has called for talks with the Taliban. Those who know the movement best are skeptical. "I think it's unrealistic," Rahad says. "The leadership of the Taliban

remains. They have now imposed strict rules on law, shutting down schools, banning music, and forbidding women to leave their homes without the yoke wearing a burka and are with a male relative."

British efforts to negotiate a localized truce involving the Taliban followed the Pakistan government's attempt to reach a similar accommodation with pro-Taliban local leaders in the North and South Waziristan regions in Pakistan. The Afghan leaders, most accurately described as Pakistani Taliban, pledged not to shelter al-Qaida as bases or send fighters to do battle with NATO in Afghanistan. Both promises were broken. Al-Qaida is now well established in Waziristan, and attacks against NATO troops in eastern and southern Afghanistan have increased following the deal. "This becomes clear that the Taliban and other insurgent groups have the agreement with Islamabad as life more than come to a group, a group, and more," Human Rights Watch concluded in an April report. "The Taliban have little reason to honor any agreement, because they don't believe the international community has the authority to set up Afghanistan and enforce their, Weinbaum said. "They're looking on this

as always been their strategy. They never thought they could win in the current configuration of forces, but that they would wear down the international community and they would have to end the Taliban would kill that vision."

There are worrying indications the Taliban may be right. Despite a clear need for more troops in southern and eastern Afghanistan, where the Taliban insurgency is fiercest, most NATO countries will refuse to deploy their soldiers where they are not needed, leaving the bulk of the fighting to the Canadians, British, Americans and Dutch. Canada's mission officially ends in February 2009, and the Dutch

'THE RELUCTANCE OF SOME NATO MEMBERS TO PROVIDE TROOPS IS UNDERMINING ISAF OPERATIONS'



immediate response next August. In theory, other NATO countries will take over, but there are no signs that they are willing to do so.

"We remain deeply concerned that the reluctance of some NATO members to provide troops to the ISAF [International Security Assistance Force] mission is undermining NATO's credibility and also ISAF operations," the British Canadian defense committee report stated. The committee's chair, James Arbuthnot, has said that this lack of resources threatens the success of the mission in Afghanistan, and the existence of NATO itself. An assessment echoed by Barrett Rahad, a lead-

ing as firmly on the contrary, who is an essay published earlier this year, stating "The future of NATO depends on its status in the first deployment outside of Europe."

But does NATO have any business fighting the Taliban in Afghanistan in the first place? NATO is a military alliance built on the idea of collective defense. And there are many who argue that the Taliban present a threat to the West. Al-Qaida might have presence even of blowing up Toronto, the changing game, but the Taliban are simply Taliban tribesmen who want domination over their country. It means that the majority of Taliban fighters are simply tribal peasants, or women from Pakistani madrassas, who lack the sophistication to travel internationally, to say nothing of plotting, especially abroad. Some are motivated to fight for the Taliban by nothing more than the money the Taliban can pay them.

However, strong ties and active co-operation have existed between al-Qaida and the Taliban since the 1990s, when the Taliban sheltered bin Laden, and there have been. Most experts believe al-Qaida's top leadership, perhaps including bin Laden and his deputy Ayman

al-Zawahiri, are in Afghanistan. "We have both failed and captured some of those," he said.

According to Al-Qaida's Rahad, the Taliban's goals have expanded since its formation in the 1990s. "The top leadership is very highly influenced by the ideas of al-Qaida and global jihad," he told Reuters, adding that al-Qaida operatives are working with the Taliban on the ground in Afghanistan. "The level of co-operation is very close. We have seen the Taliban taking action to kill, burning the new schools, and then coming back. Now some Arabs are coming in to teach the Taliban new bombs and new IEDs [improvised explosive devices]. That kind of co-operation has been carried out with the help of al-Qaida."

Rahad says that al-Qaida still needs territorial bases where its members can train, plan, commit operations and live freely. They have that now in the Tribal Areas of Pakistan and, to a lesser extent, in the Arab provinces of Iraq. Afghanistan today presents a rare opportunity for al-Qaida to re-establish itself as a state. "It is not just a question of sheltering or training Afghanistan from American occupation, but also establishing bases where terrorists can operate," Rahad said.

Al-Qaida's growing strength and its deepening co-operation with the Taliban, suggests Afghanistan remains at the epicenter of the West's battle with transnational Islamist terrorism. "Afghanistan is where it began and where it will continue to be a threat," Weinbaum said. "What's at stake here is whether they're going to use that as their prime breeding ground for international operations."

Canadians don't appear to be convinced. An Environment Canada spokesman last November showed that only eight per cent of respondents believed Canadian soldiers are in Afghanistan to fight terrorism. Many more thought that Canadian soldiers are there as peacekeepers, or to help the United States and George W. Bush. A more recent poll conducted by the Strategic Counsel reveals that a strong majority of Canadians saw Canada's military mission in Afghanistan.

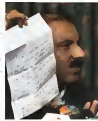
These attitudes frustrate Al-Qaida's Rahad, who has threatened Afghanistan for decades, and the Taliban since its inception. "Do the Canadian people need some horrendous attack killing hundreds of Canadians before they actually wake up and find that they need to be in Afghanistan? The Canadians are part of the West and one of those countries that would be targeted," he said. "It's very tough. But what I think has happened automatically is that the deployment to Afghanistan was undertaken by the government. The Canadian government understood to the public that the deployment was going to be a long-term mission. What it was actually going to be is a bloody conflict." ■



THE MYSTERY AT HOUSE NO. 114

New evidence further clouds the death of a Canadian in Pakistan

BY ARIAN R. HAN • The case of Kafia Siddiqui, the 39-year-old Pakistani-Canadian businesswoman found dead in a Pakistan prison next to her home in Islamabad, took another bizarre twist after preliminary findings from a second autopsy were released on July 16. The report, obtained by *Al Jazeera*, contradicts the first post-mortem in one key area. Siddiqui's body was re-examined, and was likely caused by a severe blow to the head by an unknown object that left her with a fractured skull and internal bleeding. That finding was conspicuously omitted from the first autopsy report, which her family has accused was influenced by the now-accused cabinet minister, Mohammed Khuda Bux Qureshi, 38, who resigned his post shortly before she was arrested on June 12. He is now charged with illegal confinement and causing the circumstances in which Kafia died, a lesser charge than manslaughter.



QURESHI has been charged with creating the setting in which Siddiqui died

that five-year-old son, says "The evidence was tampered with from the beginning. Qureshi and his cronies took credit for the crime up to the investigation."

The family's ordeal, however, is far from over. The background on this case, more Pakistan scandal than justice, worked the crime here in Islamabad for the past five years put it, a "mixed bagging." In the spring of 2005, Kafia

Siddiqui, young, ambitious businesswoman born in Pakistan, but living in Canada for the past 14 years, was Qureshi, a young, ambitious politician, at a business conference the organizer in Toronto. For months later, she flew off to Pakistan, leaving her husband and son behind, to pursue what she says are business opportunities. Siddiqui and Qureshi set up a business on the ground floor of a rented house in a quiet, suburban neighborhood on the outskirts of the Pakistani capital. Eight months later, far too soon, she was missing, she was on the second floor of the house.

Nearly a year after that, in March 2006, the Pakistan system study comes into the house as well. Three months after that, Kafia Siddiqui is dead.

According to Qureshi's former Pakistani state minister for communications, at 10:30 on the night of June 8, 2007, he stumbled onto the dead woman on the second floor of the rented house, House No. 114, Street 315, in Islamabad's G-11 district. The new autopsy report, though, suggests a struggle, even a fight, at the end of which Kafia is lying on the floor with a fatal head injury. In one possible scenario, based on Qureshi's account and supported by eyewitness testimony provided by Qureshi's cook, Kafia was a prisoner of Qureshi's, held captive after threatening to end a falling business relationship. Qureshi, on the other hand, maintains that she was a domestic worker in financial trouble, abandoned by her husband in Canada and falling deeper into depression. Regardless of the actual circumstances, the end result is the same: on the night of June 8 or early morning hours of June 9, Kafia Siddiqui died.

The events that unfolded immediately after her death are clearer. Qureshi's spokeswoman, Mohi-ud-Din Siddiqui's brother-in-law, says that Siddiqui's brother-in-law, "Your sister was dead," he says in a daze, and hangs up. Minutes later, he tells Siddiqui's sister-in-law, "Your sister is dying. It's coming over." "We had help of his driver and cook, and despite the pleas of Siddiqui's sister to take her to a hospital, Qureshi took the woman's long body home as his official government car and, according to some mid-level security sources, drove off in the direction of her sister's home. It's still unclear why he obviously distraught mother chose to go to Lahore rather than to a hospital. Perhaps shocked and disoriented, he was some-

how trying to avoid a scandal that could end what had so far been an illustrious career and ruin the reputation of his well-to-do family. According to the officer, only the cook was allowed to leave the house. The driver and government guard posted at the gate were barred from entering, forced to look at local media to use the toilet and a local television stand to get water.

In the weeks and months leading up to Siddiqui's death, numerous people, from the Canadian High Commission and Pakistan

had stepped. Plus, he's a friend and a politician. Minister Qureshi is powerful people. The police don't have as much power as them." According to the officer, only the cook was allowed to leave the house. The driver and government guard posted at the gate were barred from entering, forced to look at local media to use the toilet and a local television stand to get water.

In the weeks and months leading up to Siddiqui's death, numerous people, from the Canadian High Commission and Pakistan

source, "If the guard says 'so then the police must say 'story' and leave. That's it."

That culture of fear and unapproachability likely contributed to Siddiqui's demise. No one crosses feudal lords in Pakistan, especially those in government, without consequences. And Qureshi's family, also powerful (and) from Islamabad in southern Punjab province, has a reputation for violent behavior. His brother, a former police officer, was expelled from the force under mysterious circumstances. A friend at another

What exactly was going on in House No. 114? During the time Siddiqui lived there, she kept an extremely low profile in the upper-class, newly settled suburban neighborhood. Neighbors say they never saw the woman—only a car that would come and go from the gated entrance with curtains drawn over its windows.

Inside the house, the ground floor had been converted to an office for Qureshi's Worldwide Group of Companies, a floor-to-ceiling sign in the front foyer welcoming visitors to the business's head office. Officially, the word was that Siddiqui and Qureshi were business partners running

The first autopsy didn't show signs of head trauma; Qureshi is arrested in June (right); the house where Siddiqui died (bottom)



FOR ABOUT FOUR MONTHS, SIDDQUII WAS SAID TO BE A PRISONER IN HER OWN HOME—LOCKED AWAY IN A SMALL SECOND-FLOOR BEDROOM

a consulting firm, offering to do a wide variety of undertakes, including Qureshi's specialty—corporate communications.

But in a deeply religious country like Pakistan, rumors were rife. Why was an unmarried, middle-aged woman married? What were they really up to? There were, of course, rumors that the two had been having an affair. But as news of Siddiqui's death spread and some facts leaked out, the tale became more and more credible. For possibly taking its form in this, it was revealed by the cook, Siddiqui was a prisoner on the second floor of the house, locked up in a small room at the back of the house.

Only one person may have the full truth—the arrested man himself. Others, and many Qureshi's accused cook and driver, are no longer talking. "They fear him," says a police officer close to the investigation, suggesting anonymity because he is not authorized to talk to the media. "It wasn't an authorized person that Qureshi was extremely strict and

authorities, coming knocking on Qureshi's door regarding to see the woman in the house." The last message I received from my wife was on Feb. 27," says Qureshi. "In it, Kafia said she was terribly sick and she wanted to come home. There nothing, which was strange because she used to write or contact someone in the family at least once a week." Qureshi then says he began calling Qureshi regularly, but was constantly told that the wife had left the country on business. "When authorities were finally notified, after Qureshi filed a complaint to his local MP in Canada on March 12, a number of people, including the local police, were sent out to investigate. In every case, they were turned away by Qureshi's guards with the same response: that is a private house, there is no reason here. No one pushed the issue. "When the police came to a minister's house, they ask the guard if there is a woman living there," says the police

of emergency from the law prevails in the feudal south of Punjab province, where so-called honor crimes are rampant and often go unpunished. It's an area many Pakistani members of parliament, the same people regularly accused of corruption, call home.

To live within radar range of one of these feudal parliamentarians is to live uncomfortably close to raw, unchecked power. Neighbors of Qureshi all felt in fear and many now refuse to talk about Siddiqui's death. "They're terrified," says one neighbor willing to open up, if though pleading for anonymity. "Everyone knew there was a powerful feudal and government official living at that house. Some of us even knew there was something strange going on, but you simply don't meddle in these things in Pakistan."

No one wants to be helping the straggled response to Qureshi's plea for help, it should come as no surprise that the official probe



into what actually happened at House No. 114 is in question. All indications at that point are that Qureshi used his wily tongue to sway the court investigation into Siddiqui's death. On the night her body was found, police investigations arrived at the house to gather evidence but instead were once again—tangled away at the gate. “But the minister wouldn’t let us. What could we do? He was a minister.” It wasn’t until three days following Siddiqui’s death that the room in which she spent the last period of her life was searched, by which time it had been cleaned and perfumed.

“But it was still a strange place,” adds the police officer. “It was a tiny room with only one window, a chappay, and a lock on the outside of the door.” A chappay is a crude bed woven from rough rope in a wooden frame, and generally by the poorest of the poor in Pakistan. For all the apparent luxuriousness of the room’s raftered beams, Siddiqui enjoyed only the basic amenities during the course of her pregnancies. And now, with the investigation still ongoing, it’s a strange twist that can really only be understood from a fiscal perspective. Qureshi has brought in his own men, luxury linens, drapes from the south of

Pakistan and Qureshi does not permit his husband desperately searching for his wife. Ironically following her death, there’s no doubt that the family, including Qureshi, has been extremely wise in ensuring justice is served, but that yawning gap in time is one of the many elephants in the room. “Under the circumstances, I was doing whatever I could,” insists Qureshi, who spoke of calling Qureshi on numerous occasions to find out what was going on with Kaifa. “It’s just very difficult to go up against a Pakistani official.”

Qureshi’s version of events is even less convincing. His memories in statements to the

THE SECOND autopsy, the victim’s husband, father, and brother, Qureshi, is interviewed (right), Siddiqui and Qureshi (below)



OFFICIALLY, SIDDIQUI AND QURESHI WERE SAID TO BE RUNNING A CONSULTING FIRM TOGETHER.

BUT THERE WERE RUMOURS OF AN AFFAIR.

Pakistan, to guard the premises.

There are questions about Siddiqui’s family as well. It wasn’t until the last week of April or early May, according to Mustafa Qureshi, her brother, that any family members went to the house in person (although about her whereabouts). “In Pakistan, it’s difficult to file a case against a government official,” says Qureshi, emphasizing the delay. “That’s why we were trying to file a case in Canada.” But even so, why did it take 10 days following her last desperate message for her husband to lodge an appeal with his local MLC and why didn’t the family members go to the house earlier to ask about her? Sources in Toronto who say they know the couple paint a picture of a marriage on its last legs, a charge Qureshi vehemently denies, insisting instead that he was in a loving relationship with his wife (although he says he was not happy about her going off to Pakistan). But the time frame described by

media before he was arrested that, in her last days, Siddiqui was depressed and not eating does not fit with the findings of the second autopsy report. It states that, “The body is of a nourished female.” In testimony to the media shortly after Siddiqui’s death, Qureshi also stated that her family was jealous of her financial success. But according to sources in Toronto, the couple was in deep financial trouble. “We’d taken out an equity loan on our house to pay off debts,” Qureshi himself says. “Kaifa didn’t have any money. Qureshi was the financial backer.” If that is the case, why was the only business registered in Pakistan, OMC Holdings, under Siddiqui and her brother Mustafa’s names? Qureshi doesn’t appear anywhere on the company records. His only link to the business being his personal assistant, who signed as a witness to the

registrations. The five million rupees (\$16,000) in paid-up capital listed under the company’s assets, according to Qureshi, came from Qureshi, but would he put so much trust in Siddiqui, who was based in owning 99 per cent of the shares? What happened to that money? Under Pakistani law, Siddiqui, or her husband, would be entitled to 99 per cent of OMC’s net value, the remaining one per cent going to her brother. The company, however, based on Qureshi’s own account, was not doing well. Had the money been squandered, and if so, in this case of money owed and then collected in blood?



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IT DOESN'T ALWAYS PAY TO BE TOUGH

Our softer approach to market regulation may not be so bad after all

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • Earlier this summer, Toronto-based Citicorp International, the world's largest maker of pre-arranged CDs and TDFs, made a decision that most Canadian companies would have considered unthinkable a decade ago. It deregulated in the United States, opening up long-term Canadian investments with market regulators there. The decision was a long time in the making: the company dithered from the Nasdaq six years ago and now trades only on the TSX, but the recent move was in part set off by a lawsuit accusing Citicorp of fraud in the U.S. under Securities Order measures passed in 2001 in the wake of the Enron scandal. "The SEC provisions were very onerous," says Lewis Ratche, the company's chief financial officer. "I think it was overkill and everybody is pretty well acknowledging that, including those who put in those regulations."

Citicorp isn't alone in pulling up stakes in the U.S. Last month, International Power, the U.S.-based electricity company, said it was delisting from the New York Stock Exchange "with the aim of reducing compliance costs." Other foreign firms have done the same, reversing a trend that had only been reversing in the U.S. as the ultimate goal for most growing firms. The tide has turned so far that even Eliot Spitzer, the New York attorney general who led the charge against World Service multinationals, changed his tune on the effectiveness of U.S. market regulation. "It has created an unbearable burden for small companies," he said in a speech last year.

U.S. and Canadian over the reaction to Enron scandal marked contrast to the situation in Canada, where critics that regulators haven't gone far enough to protect investors is as loud as ever. Last month, Finance Minister Jim Flaherty delivered a stinging speech in Toronto about the need for a simple national regulator, highlighting the perception that capital markets in Europe in Canada and also that investors tend to put more faith in rules imposed elsewhere to police their markets. "It concerns me greatly that some Canadian investors

consider it necessary to rely on the United States to hold companies to account for their actions," said Flaherty.

There's no shortage of high-profile critics who say Canada's regulators—particularly the Ontario Securities Commission, the country's biggest and most expensive body—are too reluctant to put their collar on companies behind them. But in the U.S. market standards and investor protection are the market makers, many observers, from academics to securities lawyers, say Canadian should be careful what they wish for. If the U.S. experi-

FLAHERTY wants a simple national regulator and less reliance on the United States



DESPITE THE CRITICS, OUR MARKET ENFORCERS AREN'T DOING SO BADLY

ence has done anything, it's raised an important question: how much regulation is too much? Even so, the absence of a national regulatory body, there's growing evidence that Canadian market enforcers haven't done so badly with their softer approach, making a fine line between protecting the market and not suffocating it under an avalanche of enforcement. "There are extraordinary things happening in the U.S. to the point that we're seeing back," says OSC vice-chair James Tarnay, who along with the OSC executive team sit down to speak with Muskoka. "Even more important, the U.S. has discovered they're not the only capital market in the world."

FIVE YEARS AGO, few observers thought Canada would hold its own as aggressive, U.S. style reform. After Enron and WorldCom, there seemed only one way to protect investors put on notice in prison and stay tough regulations in public companies to guard against future ones. "There was a great worry that there were not simply two unusual, public logical incidents, but the tip of a very big iceberg," says Christopher F. Nichols, a law professor at the University of Western Ontario. And there was a list of reasons to believe that was true. Beyond the two high-profile scandals, there were plenty of other troubling ones, even in Canada, from Royal Group Technologies to Noranda Networks.

But Canadian regulators rarely missed pressure to allow U.S. rules over Canadian markets, said mostly by not adopting controversial Securities Order measures calling for strict, and many say superfluous, auditing rules, like making CEOs sign off on the accuracy of financial statements. Cost of those with those rules has proved costly in the U.S. and, experts say, would have crippled Canadian markets dominated by small companies. They would have had "very serious adverse effects," says Nichols.

In the U.S., public shaming that most public companies pay the cost of SEC oversight the benefits. Tightening laws a U.S. government commerce last month, Harvard professor David Sarno and the cost of regulation has made U.S. markets less attractive. In the late 1990s, about half of all global IPOs (where a company raises money outside its own country) were in the United States. By 2006, that had fallen to about seven per cent, he noted. Last year of IPOs on U.S. exchanges were worth about \$160 billion last year, compared to \$150 billion in China and \$100 billion in European exchanges.

It's long been conventional wisdom that the lack of rules and an international reputation the "wild west" of the financial world, as Bank of Canada governor David Dodge famously described it, is hurting the TSX. But there's no clear evidence to show it. "We all know Canadian markets have benefited enormously from what's happened with our money prices," says Nichols. "At the same time we've not seen any apparent that Canadian companies that prove have suffered from an approach to regulation that's different than the U.S." Saying market performance alone doesn't resolve the regulatory question, but does help shift the burden to the critics, he notes.

Defenders of the U.S. approach argue that market there are a result of the increasingly competitive world of globalized capital markets. "I don't think first of all the sky is falling," said SEC chairman Christopher Cox at a Congressional hearing in June. "I think what's happening all around us is more competition." That may be true, but money is moving in places that appear to make the best balance between the flow of capital and stable shareholder protection on the other.

Of all the world's markets, London appears to have struck the right balance. The LSE and

they happen, Canadian regulators lag badly behind their American counterparts. The U.S. has raised up an enormous list of high-profile white-collar cases that ended with big prison sentences. Former Tyco CEO Dennis Kozlowski received up to 20 years in prison. Enron CEO Jeffrey Skilling was given a 24-year prison sentence, and former WorldCom CEO Bernard Ebbers was given a 10-year term in prison before dying of a heart attack last year. More recently, the Canadian Black Sage undermined the lengths the U.S. government, FBI, and SEC will go to in pursuit of white-collar crime. The OSC, on the other hand, tends to settle or settle for its bailouts, from the recent case of the John F. Alderhof (the only person charged in the 1997 fire at Xstrata's plant which cost investors as billions) to the case against co-inventor of the Internet (Andrew B. Kahane) whose conviction in stockpiling was overturned.

to the extent possible to the stock option trading scandal (which has cost dozens of U.S. companies their jobs). To some extent, the lack of high-profile white-collar cases in Canada is a cause for concern—a sign that the enforcers aren't doing their job.

The OSC says criticism that's soft on online overlooks the work done either successfully settling cases or avoiding them by focusing on compliance. "What's important are the cases that have been prevented. Cases where it's not necessary to proceed with enforcement proceedings because the decision is made that public markets have been adequately protected," says Larry Ratche, a vice chair with the OSC. It also overlooks cultural differences between Canada and the United States, which tends to view prison as a more useful deterrent, adds Ratche.

OSC chair David W. Wilson battles at the notion the SEC is more aggressive when it comes to market enforcement. A question about recent high-profile cases where white-collar cases as always, decisions are made. "There are not SEC cases," he says, comparing about a common investigation. The SEC, of course, does investigate wrongdoing in cooperation with law enforcement (and has played a highly visible role in virtually every fraud case in the past decade—enclaves), but, as Wilson stresses, actual criminal proceedings in the U.S. are handled by the justice department.

Nevertheless, the defining image of the U.S. approach to white-collar criminal enforcement is the so-called "jerk walk," where police, flanked by SEC types, lead executives down their offices in handcuffs. This doesn't happen in Canada, nor do such dramatic displays with the minority force among Canadian regulators, say former OSC employees. "The ones who are the most thoughtful," says Joe

WILSON, ALL OF THIS has done little to dispel the notion that when it comes to actually punishing incidents of wrongdoing when

WHILE ENRON WAS A BIG WIN FOR THE U.S., RATCHE (BOTTOM) WAS A FAILURE FOR THE OSC



WHILE ENRON WAS A BIG WIN FOR THE U.S., RATCHE (BOTTOM) WAS A FAILURE FOR THE OSC

ALAN HARRIS/GETTY IMAGES; MICHAEL GOODMAN/REUTERS

THE CANADIAN PRESS/ALAN HARRIS/REUTERS

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Gross, a securities lawyer and former head of enforcement at the OSC, "get the most misdeeds out of control in a fair basis with a respondent." The last thing an agency like the OSC wants is a collection of battles over-riding cases, says Larry Whit, also a former OSC enforcement chief, and now president of the Mutual Fund Dealers Association of Canada. There is no pressure an OSC cases against to prosecute in handcuffs, says Whit, but "there is pressure to do the job right and be fair." Critics also tend to overlook the difficulty of successfully prosecuting a criminal case. "It's easy to open an investigation, it's very hard to close one," adds Whit.

The notion that there's a lack of enforcement activity in Canada is actually off base, experts say. Earlier this year, the Investment Dealers Association commissioned Harvard professor Howard Jackson to look at differences between Canadian and U.S. securities regulations in light of the "apparent effectiveness of enforcement actions in the United States." His conclusion: Canadian judges and staffers might actually be more intensive than in the United States.

Over the past several years, the OSC has significantly boosted its enforcement efforts—a process that began long before Enron. There's been considerable activity lately to show for it. In the six months from October 2006 through March 2007, Canadian Securities Administrators members report there were 49 cases resulting in fines of \$2.4 million and three cases resulting in prison sentences ranging from 15 months to four years. Over the last year, the OSC filed 34 cases before the courts, 15 case trade orders and 12 bans on directors or officers. "They've shown no reluctance to lay criminal charges where it's appropriate," says Gross, "I do think they are unfairly criticized by way of comparison to the American experience."

The role of the police in market regulation is also frequently overlooked. Criticism of the OSC has to be shared by the RCMP, which through its Integrated Market Enforcement Teams, plays a crucial role in piloting white-collar crime cases. Observers often forget that the OSC (like the SEC) has no power to arrest anyone. The IMETs have accomplished virtually nothing since being set up in 2004, failing to secure any high-profile convictions.

If there's a bias for criticism it may be the rather way enforcement is handled in Canada, rather than the U.S. The OSC prosecutes the majority of its cases not in provincial courts (where it can pursue criminal cases), but before its own administrative hearings, where there is a lower burden of proof and punishment comes in the form of fines, not

prison time. "You have a combination of a very active enforcement program by the OSC combined with a reluctance to go in front of a court and those two factors together I think have been responsible for a large portion of the criticism," says Gross. That tension can even among many securities lawyers (who use the OSC playing the role of judge and jury), but doesn't mean things aren't happening on the enforcement front.

Regulators and police also appear to lag in the speed and transparency with which cases are handled. The OSC tends to react to alleged misdeeds in a slower and more cautious manner than the SEC, says Philip Antonow, a Toronto securities lawyer. Antonow points

WHITE-COLLAR CRIME In a 2006 trial, former CIBC CEO Andrew Farber (left) and his wife, Susan, were charged with fraud.



DURING THE LAST YEAR, THE OSC HAS HAD 24 CASES BEFORE THE COURT

out the recent Dow Jones trader trading case in which the SEC filed a lawsuit against two people accused of abusing the stock market's advance of reports that News Corp. planned to buy the company. The OSC, he says, would typically pursue such a case with a case trade order, something that wouldn't get as much publicity, but is not necessarily less effective. "It's fair to say the SEC is sometimes quicker off the mark than the Canadian commission, but I'm not always sure being quick off the mark is indicative of quality."

Wilson stands out as the first in a long line of OSC chairs not to promise to get tough on crime. "Our focus is to contribute in a positive way, not to beat the drumbeat of more criminal cases," he says. While this isn't the kind of approach likely to satisfy critics or change public perceptions that Canada is soft on white-collar crime, it might just be the best thing for the future of the Canadian stock market. ■

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WHEN IT SEEMS TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE

**Alberta's oil sands
seem as strong as ever—
until you dig**

BY MICHAEL GREGG • Late last month, five trade unions representing 3,500 Alberta construction workers won a vote that isolates them from their members, an unprecedented move. Alberta's construction unions have been soamed since 1945 by a labour code as complex as it is confusing. In fact, the unions' vesting of a veto over the right to strike is so convoluted that it has been called "Browns' first three days of school on management," observed one firm. From predicting, with disconcerting accuracy, that take place in the oil sands, the nuclear power takeover to a strike. For each decade since, almost always by a labour council, the vote is a final day of union. Alberta's construction unions are among the highest paid in Canada. A journeyman electrician, for example, earns as much as \$4 an hour. The trade unions' rise in 1987's turmoil of the record unemployment rate. The unions' rise in 1987, which led to a record of 10.5 billion, was a source of dispute.

They make a good case. "This is not just about a lonely tree standing proud while the gathering's good," says Barry Salzman, spokesman for the unions. "It is that much over the phrase of an 'environmental conservation' that has made housing, food, travel, gas—almost everything—that reached most expensive." Inflation, which averaged 3.9 per cent in Alberta in 2006, jumped to 5.3 per cent in the first half of this year (the national average for the last 12 months was 3.2 per cent). Most workers, too, must leave their families for oil sands projects concentrated around far-off Fort McMurray, where many live in camps. Such circumstances make for less time to make the refrigerator machines, one of the unions' top priorities, were the last one, totaling 80 per cent in support of a union mandate, 99 per cent of the boardmembers, *unavailable*, *noted* *yes*.

Such numbers reflect a rosy perception of oil sands robustness—a perception shared by the broader Canadian public, for whom the oil sands remain as exotic as the sands of Saudi Arabia and just as inconceivable with-

worship. Yet such notions are predicated on what's become, after just a few years, an antiquated view of the sector's health. Last summer, former Alberta premier Peter Lougheed called for an oil sands slowdown to tame the province's rampaging economy. Now observers in Alberta worry they are causing a troubling groundswell that could impose a far pricier and longer lasting moratorium than anything even he could have envisioned.

Annual glacier yields little evidence of real estate. Everyone, it seems, is moving to Alberta. Last year, the province showed a net migration of 62,000—a striking when set against Ontario's net loss of 54,000. Indeed, Alberta's growth—in GDP swelled 6.8 per cent in 2006—has been so spectacular that it helped drive the Bank of Canada to raise interest rates last month, despite a comparatively moribund Ontario.

It seems like Alberta has been raising flags, but it was only in late 2002, when the *International Oil & Gas Journal* began evaluating the oil sands in its inventory of world reserves, that the international community began taking notice. Recognition of the province's 175 billion barrels of oil compared Canada into second place, after Saudi Arabia, in a ranking of world oil holdings. That new focus coincided with a rise in oil prices, triggering \$120-billion worth of announced investments.

Now the old sands outlook has darkened. Alberta is smacked by a labor shortage, its oilfields are hitting a business lull of 1-4 per cent last year. The Confederation of Canadian Petroleum Producers says that, by 2025, Alberta will be short as many as 150,000 workers, other forecasts are more dire, even saying a demand for 400,000 new laborers by 2015 (so frustrated are some by a lack of bodies that is an overstatement with Manulife's, one observer charged Dave Brown, former of the royal of Calgary, who thought too much manpower at the city's current in-frastructure works.) Above those localized shortages, prices for raw materials plunged worldwide. Demand largely by the United States, steel prices, for example, rose by 70 per cent in the past five years.

**COSTS HAVE DOUBLED
IN YEARS. 'IF WE'RE NOT
SOLVED, MORE PROJECTS MAY
BEING CANCELLED'**

Oil production costs per barrel, meanwhile, are "going up to break even—we're at \$50-some odd dollars now," says Greg Springham, of the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers. They were \$15 three years ago. Prices like that—though some dispute them (the numbers game is not without "games")

At the industry gongphoo with jackknifing costs, the Alberta and federal governments—the Canadian public in large—remain bowled by all the initial payoffs. The snafu, the policy muddle, the no-win can take any tilt. Last fall Finance Minister Jean Charest announced a new tax on income transport, one of the main vehicles for oil sands investment. Last November Canadian Oil Sands, one of the largest such transporters, posted its first loss in its 10-year history due to these new tax rules. Flakberty in spring budget also phased out the accelerated capital cost allowance, an obvious tax incentive introduced

oil, Alberta's revenue of the royalties still paid in oil due by end of summer. The cabinet's original, unmodified decision says when oil used under USTCA has drawn its royalties when the rest of oil prices. Oil seeds projects now pay a royalty of one per cent of a price increase before initial investments are assessed, at the end of the year. The government will reverse. Many of the projects as a political move by Premier Ed Stelmach, who last year won a Progressive Conservative leadership not dominated by the question of whether Albertans deserve more of the oil sands than they. Through statements by Finance Minister Iain Lamb in the spring, opposed to support the status quo, a consensus has been formed that oil sands will soon pay more—something in the order of three to five per cent more than the rest of oil. The government will pay 22 per cent remaining under the 1987, says Dan Weylowski, a policy analyst with the Progressive Institute environmental group.

The oil sands development pattern has



really killed," says Stringer. "The challenges will be to try and make sure in continuous." That is by no means certain. High material costs, inflation, labor shortages, uncertain government policy—while none alone breaks the ban on aggregate, dampening, narrowing profit margins to the point where companies will stop on future endeavors can. "Expect a mix of moves on these projects," says Stringer, "and it's probably not too far off to say that." "When you consider cost will risk of mounting a project that begins to become unrealistic" if no new projects are breaking ground in five years, the impact on Alberta's economy (and on Canada's) will dissipate.

And as a potential consequence of strikes, however unlikely—observers believe the unions are seeking a deal that will put them in a bargaining position in three years, just prior to a special election in which the state constitution's non-union amendment will be on the ballot. "I think that many people are going to be paid more for the skills they are performing than the oil sands into a parking lot," says Salomon, the labor spokesman. "No, I do not." Still, the confrontation of unions facing the state could have a similar effect.



IN 2006, Alberta's GDP suffered and the province expelled a net migration of 62,000 people—many searching for new high-paying jobs in Pearl River County (above). But the rising cost of doing business is taking a toll

Redenbacher is well past his expiry date

BY JORDAN TROSE • When a computer-generated version of the late pop-corn patriarch Orville Redenbacher seemed appearing in television commercials in January, it sent a shiver down viewers' spines. In one spot, an eerily lifelike CGI version of Redenbacher—the folksy founder of one of the leading American brands of popcorn, who died in 1995—branded an MP's player as he controlled the virtues of his "popping corn" (a group of office



SOME WERE creeped out by the pitchman's lifelike eyes

workers). The reanimated Redenbacher wasn't lifelike enough, however; the commercial sparked a storm of discussion about the odd way Redenbacher's brand evolved, and the likelihood of his eyes. The CGI Redenbacher was called creepy, corny, fake, and, quickly dubbed "Dead-on-Bachelor." But the undead Redenbacher may have popped his last time. "The agency that created the ads, Grigori Porter + Rogovsky—the brains behind some viral spots like Volkswagen's "Clump Your Yoke" series and Burger King's "Sub service" Challenge—has lost the Orville Redenbacher's account. ConAgra Foods has moved the brand to another agency as part of what a spokesperson says is a "streamlining" process that is unrelated to the content of the ads. Nonetheless, it likely spells the end for this CGI to experience.

"It was all the rage in the marketing past in terms of a discussion point," says Lorenz von Wissen, Ontario marketing professor at York University. "While old film footage has been used to insert dead stars into live action commercials, CT-10's spot was the first-ever attempt at digitally recreating a dead person's face." "People were fascinated to see that happening. The advertising agency said, 'Now's the time to bring this guy back. He's a wonderful product, he's been the brand, and he should be talking to our consumers.' But my goodness, if there isn't something just very odd about seeing a real guy who died and bringing him back to sell products."

"This was a first and, if we're all very lucky, a last," Ritchie says of the computer-generated Redenbacher. "It's not even that it's disrespectful, though it may be—it's just silly."

Surf's up from Regina to Prince Albert

BY CHRIS KELLEY • The man to blanket when Canada-wide wireless Internet is being won by SaskTel, whose new Wi-Fi network, officially unveiled last week, covers the downtown cores of Saskatoon, Regina, Prince Albert and Moose Jaw. In just three months, the 10-million sq-km network between the province and SaskTel (a provincial Crown Corporation) installed hundreds of wireless access points on telephone poles—in Regina, one government official quipped, they went up at the pre-shopping rate of "40 minutes per pole." The system is designed to be free in perpetuity—and wireless. The network blocks access to pornography, music and gambling-related websites, as well as screens downloading of music and videos.

While Philadelphia boasts North America's most aggressive Wi-Fi initiative, municipalities here have led the way in Canada. Saskatoon launched Free-Edmonton 2008. It remains free for all—as is a similar initiative in Kamloops, B.C. Not all are as lucky. Attn: Networld launched in Waterloo, Ont., in 2005 and has since expanded to Kitchener and Cambridge—mostly plans for 2009. Toronto Hydro Telecom's free downtown Wi-Fi coverage became \$10 a month Wi-Fi coverage in December. A Montreal service plans to launch on the Plateau. Most launch in September. Have your credit card ready.

Meanwhile, as funding comes through, the 5,600 residents of British Columbia's benefits



SASKATCHEWAN'S \$1.3-million Wi-Fi network includes Saskatoon (above)

Steele Valley will soon be joining the revolution. It won't be free, and it's not quite Wi-Fi—customers need an antenna—but it shows off via technology across Canadian that for broadband. It offers postpaid plans to bring cell-phone service to the area around Steele local debate over potential health risks. Some even imagine its absence as a tourist draw. "Come here for holidaying and your boss can't get hold of you," in the words of a local expert. Unless you have email, that is. ■

Most aren't ashamed that they fake it

BY JASON KERRY • For luxury goods makers trying to fight off the tide of counterfeit watches and handbags flooding out of Asia, the best way to win is to be real—and share. What women in the right mind would risk friends finding out the new Louis Vuitton handbag hanging off her arm was really a knock-off? Just a recent report out of London has found a growing number of shoppers have gotten over their faux fashion hang-ups. As one respondent told *Luxury Research*, "The nobility thing's gone from buying fakes."

Nearly two-thirds of the women who buy fakes say they have no problem admitting it to friends, up from 40 per cent just last year, according to the study "Counterfeiting Luxury." One reason is that the quality of fake clothes and accessories is quickly improving. Meanwhile luxury brands, such as Burberry, are moving their own manufacture plants to China to cut costs. Why buy a Chinese-made quality product for \$100,000 when you can get one for \$10?

Though the study only dealt with British shoppers, there's little reason to think Canadian shoppers feel much different. A study released in May by the Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security reported counterfeit goods in Canada contributed to \$20 to \$16 billion a year.

The problem is facing luxury brand makers to change tack. With Burberry on the war, the British law firm Doughty Lysons, which co-authored the study, says companies need to convince shoppers that buying counterfeit goods puts money in the pockets of criminals and terrorists. "By buying fakes they are not just getting a relative bargain," lawyer Simon Treacy told reporters. "They are financing the Bureau of a much deeper social problem, crime and terrorism."

The study found 60 per cent of shoppers would clear their consciences if they believed they were ultimately funding criminal activity. But drawing a link between that fake LVMM handbag and Qaida will take some time. "At the moment," the report admits, "the evidence to support this message is rather weak."



COUNTERFEITS cost Canadian business about \$20 billion a year

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ROGERS
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The guests are perfectly unswerving to her." A modern Austen fan might argue there is enough in the world already to disturb a person, if that's what she wants.

Austen's England is the opposite of our messy, confessional culture, where everyone's loves and losses are posted on Facebook for all to peruse. Her works conjure—rightly or not—some quaint, if unrealistic notion of dignity and restraint. The entire universe of an Austen novel often consists of three or four families in a village, tied together but their lives heretofore theirs. There are only so many possible configurations. Inevitable figures enter it, of course, but it always grows up to national, property and social norms.

Which isn't to say the current fascination with all things Austen is not about romance. But it is a fanciful, grown-up kind of romance.

Censorship in Austen's day had weight and carried real consequences in a way that doesn't today. Readers are well aware of Austen's (historical) pen name of *Alice (or Fanny) Hamilton* of aristocratic parentage. One misstep and a woman winds up discredited and unlabeled, a social pariah. Today, by comparison, nothing seems to have weight. Dating, cohabitation, marriage—everything's undoable. It's hard to see freedom that does have its downside.

"Being a woman, especially a single woman in the contemporary world can be quite confusing," says Vera Blinn, author of *Confessions of Jane Austen Addict*. "There are no rules. Who's supposed to pay? What do sex and dating and monogamy mean? Looking back and putting one's own modern romantic connection on Jane Austen's world, the rules were very clear, and I think people long for that." It's that yearning for predictability and a social compass that draws fans into Austen's world—a place where two people plus an interaction equals one outcome. This is also why, among her true devotees, the BBC adaptation of *Pride and Prejudice*, faithful to text, was so beloved and why the dreary 1995 version starring Emma Thompson was derisively labelled "Bromfield."

Austen's is likely also another response to the current cultural environment in which femininity and feminine women at large feel adrift. Advertisers of Marie Antoinette—a hit reg doll with mass cosmetics, shoes, and prints from dress-wear pieces—could not possibly design—excepted to include regency and classical fashions (search culture with

regency and taste). Through Austen, they express the desire to lose themselves in the cozy confines of 18th-century femininity, replete with an elaborate set of rules to be content by it, as author Wendy Studd calls it, the "jelly-gate mild" phenomenon.

Of course, no woman in her right mind would actually trade 19th-century life for the Regency era, where women of letters spent their lives perambulating around the sherryhouse and running the household (although some did, would that be so bad?). Still, there's an element of this life that appeals to something many

ADAPTED FROM the bestselling novel, *The Jane Austen Book Club* hits the shelves in the fall



UNLIKE OUR MESSY, CONFESSORIAL CULTURE, AUSTEN'S WORLD RAISES QUIANT NOTIONS OF RESTRAINT

people now long for—something slow. "The pace certainly appeals for good reason," says Devinney Loefer, an Austen scholar and professor at the University of Missouri-Columbia. "There is something that just seems very peaceful and calm about the way that these women of letters live. Most of us don't have a government or a scullery maid."

Of course, most people back then didn't have a government or a scullery maid either. Whether or not we know, when we find Austen, we're also identifying the freedom to not worry about money matters. In her book *Confessions*, Blinn's protagonist, upon finding herself in the bosom of a Regency-era

lady of leisure, mused to herself about the lifestyle. "I can't begin to count the times I've agonized over my chequebook and wished I didn't have to decide which was more important, paying the electricity bill or buying groceries, although sometimes I did neither and had my high heels done instead. It's unlikely that a person with a bedroom like this and a well-stocked jewelry box ever has to agonize over such things."

When it comes to money, we're especially susceptible to this kind of wishfulness. Thankfully—grace Mary Wells' words—women are no longer eaten on fathers or husbands for income. We can buy our own fancy. However, a certain aggressive discomfort with personal finance is more common among women these days would care to admit. This is the "white knight" fantasy. La Perle writes about in her book *Money*.

A *Money*, for which the interviewed hundreds of women about their most shameful secret financial pastimes, love and risk—the most common being the wish that someone or something will come along and just take care of it. "Inevitably, I found that I was [and remain] the victim," La Perle wrote, "I had wanted the option of letting that I, alone, would not have to take the weight of my financial destiny."

In the end, we reconcile the differences Austen poses by fantasizing her work a little, cherry-picking from it. When we look back to a Hollywood marriage from that never was, and invest her heroines with more self-determinative power than they actually had. "It's a very interesting tension of letting," says Loefer. In a 1998 essay on Austen's work called "Requited Harp," the critic D.W. Harding wrote that it's these heroines that Austen fans are prone to take with her work that she would have looked the most like writers. "Her heroines, as she meant them to be, read and enjoyed by precisely the sort of people whom she disliked, she is a literary choice of the society which she lives in, held widely enough, would undermine." Today, this translates into a bunch of happy Lydia Bennets looking to engage for a few hours that they could be a little more self-possessed. Like their big sister Elizabeth. ■



NEW JERSEY: BETTER BALLROOMING WITH A VIRGIN Organizers of the Quick Chick New Jersey Festival of Ballrooming no longer buy new insurance. To avoid financial catastrophe, they've imported a Singaporean expatriate that ensures good weather using a string of other precautions and joins around with a knife. Victoria (pictured), a devout Mormon whose faith forbids premarital sex has become the festival's official virgin, an office she says brings both "fun and embarrassment."

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SPORTS

approach shots and pretend to make his ball hit, he was padding up the ball while surreptitiously placing his marker on his putter. He would then calmly drop the ball from the putter to a more advantageous position on the green.

The reaction against Robertson—a garden variety cheat if there ever was one—proved

belonging to teammate Paul Semken and crowded through the ceiling, flashlight in hand, from the Cleveland clubhouse to a booth above the women's dressing room. The six-foot-three, 180-lb. player then dove and landed onto a refrigerator and changed the last of Phillips' locker with the legal one. "My heart was going 1,000 miles a second," Chris-

tainly our third baseman would be made aware if every swing was a jerk, or if every cone involved a disqualifying heave would kick Ferni Ormishenko, a Soviet former who during the 1972 Summer Games in Munich won the bronze of his 400 with an underarm trigger. The device allowed him to score points even when he failed to touch



1987 NICE GUYS AND HELLS: Heavy-board bating Mike Scott (left), Canada's fastest swimmer, Ben Johnson (middle), Scott had an easier swim



1988



1994

hairs to the point of unrecognizability. Overrated that someone would take such liberties as a sport that relies on its players' sense of honour, two officials fined him \$10,000 and suspended him from the job until for 30 years.

Even as cases where the punishment is light, the court of public opinion can condemn an athlete to long-term ostracism just as if Albert Belle. The only former star of the Cleveland Indians in up Major League Baseball with 50 lifetime runs over a 12-year career, yet remains forever tainted by a 1994 bar-coding incident. For years, he has been tempted to seek their ban on the belief that added impetus from a more realistic case would the ball carrier. Belle had the relative time to work at a time when sluggers were starting to focus on major league pitchers, making opponents of cheating throughout the baseball fraternity. Acting as a tip during a multi-million game against Cleveland, Chicago White Sox manager Gene Lerner decided to challenge the use of Belle's bat, leading manager Dave Phillips to put it on his locker to be turned up again at the start of the 1995 season.

What argued then and the guardians of the game, however, wasn't the idea Belle was making his numbers with an illegal bat. It was the revelation that the Cleveland team tried that night to hide attempts to find the truth. In what he later described as a "mission impossible," Indians pitcher Jason Grady admitted that he grabbed a cork-free bat

BELLE WAS PERCEIVED AS NASTY. BUT WE'RE MORE TOLERANT OF ATHLETES WE LIKE.

day told the New York Times in 1999 "I just rolled the dice, a crapshoot."

Also, Semken's name was stamped on the replacement bat, which makes Grady one of the clubhouse gamblers in history (not to mention a double cheat: in 2001, the hapless pitcher admitted to using human growth hormones, supplements and steroids). In the end, under threat of criminal conviction, Belle agreed to stand over the stand bat. After a lengthy appeal, he received a surprisingly light suspension of seven games.

Small wonder, then, that the keepers of baseball history don't look askance at the big slugger, secure in the knowledge that previous few fans will risk their defence. When Belle came up for what should have been a slam-dunk 150 of three in 2006, he passed (just 77 per cent of the votes) for short of the proportion required. Two years later, he was dropped from the ballot. "Albert Belle was perceived to be a more human being," says Steven Lee Wolf, a sports ethicist at the University of Idaho. "And we're a lot more tolerant of athletes we like."

his opponent, but the reputation success of that hero to obscure weaknesses raised doubts among his competitors. Ormishenko was disqualified following an investigation, and forcing athletes later banned from that could avoid electric switches.

But each gloriolously athletic figure can live and for the most part. There's Fred Lyle, an American distance runner who ended down a state during the 1984 Olympic marathon in St. Louis and rode 12 miles as a passenger. He was banned for life from some more marathon running, but reinstated in time to win the Boston Marathon the following year. Lyle was cleared to be pulling a prank, but he blessed the end for the likes of Rose Barr, the 13-year-old Brazilian who in 1980 suddenly stepped out of the crowd and into the race one mile after the end of the Boston Marathon, beating all other women and baffling hard-core runners who had never had eyes on her. Rose was quickly found out and stopped of hostile; her actions prompted race officials to alter everything from crowd barriers to a modern system in which marathons with trackable monitoring by using their shoes.

Denied, by contrast, athletes produce such out-and-out cases, primarily because it's difficult to make a case against them. How profoundly any given day athletes find results. Followers of the "Don't Pull It, For instance, are only starting to grasp how the event's inherent dishonesty generally require some form of performance enhancement. As Angelo Schneider, a

former Canadian Olympic rower, followed the race in 2004 while researching an article, and came home convinced that illegal tricks like nerve tonic blood transfusions are in such a survival strategy as a canoeist victory. "These guys are doing the equivalent of two to three marathons a day, for three weeks, with no days off for rest," says Schneider, now a professor

Agony's (WADA's) message: that all performance-enhancing drugs carry the potential to destroy the sport they're used in. "You have movie stars taking growth hormones and steroids, which is a form of performance enhancement, and nobody says anything about that," he points out. "But as soon as you reach out with sports, everyone develops

enhancements—especially those which exert enormous physical toll on their competitors. If the public no longer respects athletes' role models, after all, and if we place doping as the same ethical strategy as ball-drooping pitchers, why carry on the charade?

The answer, of course, lies in the very fact that you are here in the first place. Legiti-



BARRY BOHNS (left): disgraced Tour de France victor Floyd Landis (middle), Alexandre Vinokourov, removed from this year's contest



of kinesiology at the University of Western Ontario. "I was exhausted by the end of it, and I was following it by car. There is no way most people could complete it without some type of [artificial] assistance."

Moreover, sports who trace the history of the event can see that successful athletes to combat cheating do let it move from basic, more creative forms of cheating. In the Tour's bygone days, Schneider notes, riders soaked sugar cubes soaked in ether to ease their cramping muscles. Others took cocaine to fight the effects of fatigue, presumably used various cane cane and ordered them to respect the cap. And these power employers were usually supervising on the outer outskirts of those who rode before them. In 1904, the second year the race was held, several riders were reported to have been towed by automobiles using a barely visible wire that ran from the back of the cars to onto the cyclists' bell between their teeth. At the end of the race, the top four competitors, including the defending champion Maurice Garin, were disqualified. ("The race is finished," declared Poulton's magazine in an early prize page of 2007's headlines.

So the sports national question for an event like the Tour may not be how to stamp out doping, but what kinds of doping to allow, and how much. That's a difficult commission to have, says David McKay, a sports ethicist at the University of Regina, given the wide-spread acceptance of the World Anti-doping

IN BYGONE DAYS, TOUR RIDERS SUCKED SUGAR CUBES SOAKED IN ETHER TO KILL PAIN

this moral outrage?" Still, there are signs of early doping. In 1904, which was the first doping in the Tour de France, riders soaked sugar cubes in ether to ease their cramping muscles. Others took cocaine to fight the effects of fatigue, presumably used various cane cane and ordered them to respect the cap. And these power employers were usually supervising on the outer outskirts of those who rode before them.

The viewing public, meanwhile, appears ready to go a step further. Fewer than half of Canadians regard professional sports as a source of positive community values, according to a 2005 poll commissioned by the Canadian Centre for Ethics in Sport. Under the circumstances, it's not inconceivable that some big money sports may soon allow some medically supervised performance

ing some forms of doping won't eliminate the age-old motivation to cheat. The prospect of wealth, adulation and a place in sporting history will always propel athletes toward illicit methods, says Schneider, whether as the latest in undetectable steroids, or the newest and arguably more dangerous wrinkle in performance enhancements, genetic doping. This challenge, she says, is to prevent those forces from winning control of the game from those who play it. "Sports something created by humans for the enrichment of humans," she says. "If we disrespect the rules to the point of destroying their meaning, then we destroy the sport itself."

Did Donald Crowhurst strike upon this truth while floundering himself in the middle of the Atlantic? No one will ever know. But it's comforting to think he knew he'd crossed some line, some invisible boundary between finding advantage from an opponent and striding the entire meaning of a contest from its adoring fans. (No, he left this world with more of his honour intact than many in its life who balk at apologize today. ■



A LATE SOCCER SCORE: BERLIN WINS AGAIN
The first German soccer championship ever awarded—in 1954—was won by the German national team. In 1954, the German national team won the 1954 World Cup in Switzerland. Last month, the two cities played the match to settle who should have won. Theo Zwargitz, head of the German soccer association, called it "a beautiful idea that both clubs played to decide who the real, moral winner is after such a long time." The outcome: Berlin will win 4 to 1.



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HISTORY

JIM'S FIREMAN

He tried to save the Doors' singer and failed. Now he's a minor celebrity.

BY ISABEL VINCENT • Before the morning of July 1, 1971, Alan Raisson, a French fireman, had never heard of the American singer and poet Jim Morrison. As Raisson describes it today, his encounter with the man that he found unconscious in a bathtub full of water, was "short, intense and very real." Raisson and his team of five firemen tried to revive him, but failed, and within minutes of arriving at the light-filled apartment on 11 rue Beaubien in the Marais district of Paris, it was Raisson who pronounced "Mr. James Morrison" dead.

"I didn't know he was famous," said Raisson, who is retired in Rue de Jussieu and lives in an elegant, antique-filled apartment a few blocks from the beach. "Nobody knew he was famous until about a month later, when the media started to call 'They haven't stopped calling, even today, 36 years after the death of Morrison, the lead singer and main lyricist of the Doors, who achieved a wild cult status after his death in Paris.' Morrison's graffiti scrawled across the New Luchese cemetery is still a minor tourist attraction for Doors fans. The rental apartment he lived in for only a few months in 1971 is also the scene of a night every year as hundreds of fans fill the street holding lit candles on the anniversary of Morrison's death.

"Every year, they used all the backwash from outside the building," says Raisson, shaking his head in mild amazement. Still, it's thanks to Morrison that Raisson, an actor in an amateur theatre troupe in the French community in Rio, is a minor celebrity today. He is frequently introduced at parties of Rio's French association, for which he is the treasurer, as "the last man to touch the body of Jim Morrison."

Recently, a Canadian film company flew Raisson, 55, from his home in Rio to Toronto in order to tape an interview with him for a documentary on Morrison's life. Last year, French TV featured Raisson in its own documentary, which aired on the anniversary of Morrison's death in 1991, when Oliver Stone's biopic on Morrison had hit Parisian screens. Raisson was one of the guests of honour at the Champs Elysees screening. "James Morrison is a great myth," says Raisson, who has over the years pondered the cult fame of the

singer who combined blues, rock and psychedelic influences in his such as *Light My Fire* and *Touch Me*.

But what Raisson tells the interviewers over and over again does not square with the image that many have of the handsome Bohemian singer with wavy shoulder-length hair, who moved to Paris with his common-law wife

BLAZE AND REALITY "When I got there, I saw a fat man in a bathtub full of water," Raisson (bottom) recalls of Morrison



RAISSON'S ENCOUNTER WITH MORRISON IN JULY 1971 WAS 'SHORT, INTENSE AND VERY REAL'

Pamela Courson at the height of his fame in March 1971, in order to focus on his poetry Morrison, who died at 32, had a long history of drug and alcohol abuse. "When I got there I saw a fat man in a bathtub full of water," says Raisson. "The water was still warm, and we carried him out the bed in the bedroom to do the cardiac massage."

The cause of death appeared to be heart failure, and because there were no witnesses

any other marks of violence on the body (Raisson insists he saw nothing that would arouse suspicion), the police who arrived shortly after Raisson's team decided not to proceed with an autopsy—a decision that many of Morrison's fans still question today. "If anyone in the police had known he was famous, I am sure they would have done an autopsy," says Raisson, who will not speculate on what caused Morrison's apparent heart attack. After his own death in 1974, Courson told reporters that the corpse

added Morrison possibly wanted heroin by mistake "that was a mistake far too to discuss," with Raisson, who is a French civil servant's son of professional status.

All he knows is that Courson made the emergency call at 9:20 on that fateful Sunday morning. Raisson and his team arrived five minutes later, and found her distraught, still in her nightgown. She told them that Morrison had awoken at 6 a.m. and told her that he was feeling well. "and would take a bath." When he wasn't in bed nearly 1½ hours later, Courson went to investigate and called the emergency number. "That was the experience, very intense and very brief,"



reports Raisson, rising from his chair. But, one last question, what does Raisson think of Morrison's life now? Has he learned too Doors CD lately? Raisson avoids the question. "I prefer classical music," he says. M



EGYPT: ART AT THE DAWN OF CIVILIZATION
 New examination of prehistoric rock carvings in Egypt have determined they were created 15,000 years ago, vastly extending the timeline of Egyptian culture. An engraving discovered in 1984 by Canadian archaeologists, the carvings depicting an extinct species of wild cow are nearly identical in style to more famous prehistoric drawings in Lascaux, France, until now thought to be one of the few examples of extremely early human art.

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Clown prince

How a stoner from B.C. came to make two of the season's hottest movies—and reinvent the slacker comedy **BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON**

film

Seth Rogen has been getting a lot of mileage out of his penis lately. As Steve Carell's best friend in *The 40-Year-Old Virgin*, he boasted, "I'm so ugly in F&B by traditional standards, but I still get with women." Then, as if to prove his point, he became Hollywood's most widely lewd man in *Knocked Up*, which featured a pregnant sex scene that lingered on his character's fear of maturing the fetus. Now Rogen takes the penis joke back to its juvenile roots with *Superbad*, a hilarious teen comedy that he began writing with Evan Goldberg, a childhood friend from Vancouver, when they were in their early teens. The movie, which could be called *17-Year-Old Virgin*, is about two high school buddies named Ivan and Seth who try to buy liquor to impress girls. Seth has a secret: He's awfully down on his penis. To his eternal embarrassment, his teacher discovers Seth's archive of self-made penis-washed in his Gloucestershire handbox.

These two have the Seth Rogen revolution in a nut shell: turning a Gloucestershire handbox into a means to get a stack of dick jokes. And with it, a Canadian legacy comes full circle. It was Gloucestershire director Ben Bennett, another Canadian, who pioneered slacker comedy with the original stars of *Saturday Night Live*. Since then, a virtual species of overgrown adolescents—Mike Myers, Jim Carrey, Kevin James, Adam Sandler, Will Ferrell, Owen Wilson, Vince Vaughn, Ben Stiller—has emerged to take up the slack. But are guys proudly acting like idiots.

Set Rogen and his clubhouse of colleagues, led by *Knocked Up* writer-director Judd Apatow, have sent it a giant sprawling in new directions. While pushing the envelope of profanity, they've often at the same time been first to bring back to Hollywood comedies for a long time. The result is a weirdly stable mix of sex, drugs and family values. "Filt and sweetness seem to go well together," muses Rogen. "In *Knocked Up* and *Superbad*, the scenes I like best are when in an instant it can go from filth to sweet and back again, because those are the scenes that feel real to me."

Rogen (seen in Los Angeles with his son in a Vancouver suburb) has some in-

thought is punctuated by a nervous, rolling belly laugh as if you've surprised St. Nick in the middle of a long smoking session. For someone so young, Rogen has an oddly unsexual manner. Even in an ugly teenage soccer on his debut role on *Freaky and Geeks*, Apatow's short-lived NBC series, he conveyed an uneasy maturity.

At 25, Rogen has quickly become the hottest young comic talent in Hollywood. He will likely have the two top-grossing movies of the summer that are not sequels or cartoons. *Knocked Up* has grossed about \$250 million since its June release, and *Superbad*, a movie every adolescent will want to see, should easily clear \$100 million. In the fall, Rogen stars as a stoner in the run in *The Principals Express*, an action comedy that he wrote with Goldberg.

In his spare time, he disdains script advice so doesn't watch *Barney* or *Calvin*—his new best friend. He and Goldberg swapped Calver's *The A-G Show* four years ago. Rogen says they discovered a common bond back over their formative years involved with the Zions

HE BEGAN writing "Superbad" with a childhood friend while in his early teens



The films are an odd mix of sex, drugs and family values. 'Filt and sweetness go well together.'

writer friend, Laramie Miller. He speaks in a gravelly baritone, giving out emphasis with the deliberate diction of a high school dropout who's made money with his mouth over once landing his first stand-up gig at 13 in a Vancouver suburb bar. Almost every

in his youth youth movement (Hudson). Dear "He's the most normal person I've met in all of Los Angeles since I moved here," says Rogen. "A couple of days ago, he was talking to me about several things he might do and I was helping him decide what was funny and worth doing."

For a guy who spent high school in a marijuana haze and has become Hollywood's poster boy for weed, Rogen must be the hardest working stoner in show business. "I've really grown potheads a bad name," he roasts. And his next ambition is to slip on a cape as a comic book superhero. He knows that

film Rogers is closing a deal with Sony to play the Green Hornet but has not set off alarms on the Internet. "I never thought it would cause such a massive 5-tiketoen," says Rogers. "Me and Evan were like 'Let's try to win The Green Hornet.' We never thought, 'Gee, this will get you a big time nerds' all of a sudden everyone's a big Green Hornet fan. Look, having been a Green Hornet fan for a long time, I know for a fact there are no other Green Hornet fans."

Rogers is routinely hailed as the most Will Ferrell—another Ferrell, only based and seldom endowed with a hint of wit and a La 2 Boy physique. But unlike Ferrell, he deals in adult price vs. resolution, not deadpan can can.

THE BRILLIANT but cancelled *Friends & Cove*

shared *Superstar* and *Pineapple Express*—as well as directing 48-hour old *Vince and Rocco* Up. “What seems different about our group is that we’re actually friends,” says Rogers. “I don’t know how many nights a week Vince Vaughn and Ben Stiller are hanging out with us on TV together—I would assume. We actually all hang out together. Maybe it’s because we’re younger and don’t have families. But seriously, we are friends. We’re not friends just because it makes everyone money.”

In *Knocked Up*, Roger's stoner posse—Joan, Jay, Josh, and Martin—are his actual friends. These are their real names. And much of their dialog is improvised. Apator, who developed his taste for improv as a producer on *The Larry Sanders Show*, has mastered some of his most

you took it from him, I'm the worse thing that could possibly happen to a Canadian actor: you move to L.A. and make American movies. But more people see American movies, and if you can make one where the star is Canadian, has romantic life in Canada, and there's a Canadian flag hanging in his bedroom and a Canadian flag tattooed on his chest that's not covered by makeup, then you're getting the Canadian side out there maybe more than if you were just making Canadian movies."

Superbad, in any case, is rife with CanCon. Even a played by Michael Cera (Armed

ramp all day," Roger recalls. "We didn't have horses. We didn't have wagon-slinging. You just had to sit around and joke with people all day long."

At camp, like so many kids, he discovered the joys of fish. The big influence was a comedy album recorded by Adam Sandler: "I don't think Adam Sandler has ever made an R-rated movie," says Rogers. "But this was the filthiest thing I'd heard in my entire life. It was like wow—I never thought something this filthy could be universally accepted. At the same time, it was coming from a nice place, so in this sense Frank Sinatra rules."

Boyes sums up his academic career at Vancouver's Point Grey Secondary School by saying, "I smoked a lot of weed and didn't do much." Then, in reflection, he adds, "I worked

As Roger came on board as a writer with a small role concerns. Then he and Goldsby joined the final season of HBO's *Do As I Please*, and in 2000 both received Emmy nominations as part of its writing team.

While he struggled with his own career, Aponte continued to cultivate roles for his protégé—as a consultant on *Anchorman: The Legend of Ron Burgundy*, which Aponte helped produce, then as Steve Carell's son

I'm a worried guy to begin with. That's before you put me in a flesh-coloured thong on a movie set.

every actor "helps out," he says. Once the scripted scene is in the can, Apantaku just lets the actors roll while the camera rolls. He shot 1.6 million feet of film for *Knocked Up*. "We had about 20 or 30 scenes that were entirely improvised," says Gold here.

One writer who felt she'd made an uncredited contribution to the movie was Michaela Edders, who claimed to have written the idea for *Knocked Up*. "I wrote her book of the same name. Anytime she was in the magazine, she went after the film's producers with a lawsuit, which is now almost settled. Asked about Edders's article, Rogers laughs. "The funniest line was, 'My [Baby] Seth-Rogers pulled up my book.' And I remember thinking, 'F---, if she knew me, she would know that would never happen.' I would never

That's not quite accurate. Since childhood, Rogin has been an observant reader and collector of comic books. But while he never delves into the minutiae of the comic book industry at Grade 12, his writing narrative is from inner stations. Goldberg perceived, with his education, graduating with a B.A. in history at McGill in 1989, that he wanted an application to the U.S. work permits, he'd also wanted to debunk any notion that they done their imagination to find word. "Gaining some insight and writing makes you stupider." He says they both goaded while Apow, "who is in the top corner," asked them to write a postcard to the comic book industry. (Directed by David Gordon Green, an indie actor who has never done anything or comedy.) "We are terrible performers on that," Goldberg points out. "It is the chance to make a career. Why in the world would we want to jeopardize that?"

It's hard to be taken seriously when you're racist if by being a Jew! Egoist means the future star band playing the Great Horace "Gone with the Wind" Espinoza. They're going to understand a lot more about the adventure movies we're capable of making. People assume it's going to be like *Superbad* with all the rough "Oh, fat, Jewish no perfect" like I was 10 lighter and didn't eat cheese burgers for 10 months, would that be fine with everybody? Are people so superficial they think so? Will be the difference between the greatest movie of all time and the biggest stinkiest of a cheap "veteran" then again maybe the world could use a few Jewish super heroes. Just make him *Caracas*. ■

WE'RE STALKING... PRINCE FREDERICK VON ANHALT
The prince of questionable lineage and Zoe Zie Glöber's eighth husband called Los Angeles police to investigate his Ruthi Hogue last week. When they arrived, the cops found her dead and handcuffed to his steering wheel. Von Anhalt, who earlier this year claimed to be the father of Anna Nicole Smith's baby, claimed he had been robbed and strangled by these women who had pulled up in a white convertible, claiming to be fugitives.

His humor is rooted in real behavior, not gags and sketches. What's appealing is that he comes across as a character actor, not a star. So many of his Hollywood producers are—from Bill Murray to Don Sykes, from Mike Meyers to Adam Sandler and Will Ferrell—were already friends when they hit the big screen, as alumni of *Saturday Night Live*. Rogers seems to have come out of nowhere, working as first a couple of brilliant TV shows (that were strongly canceled).

So when the studio decided to promote *Random Lip* by putting his admirably unimpressive face on the posters, he thought they were nuts. "I told them, 'I don't think people want to see my head on a billboard.' They said, 'It worked for 40 Year-Old Virgin.' It wasn't matter if they've never seen you by head before. The movie showed the studio you didn't need a famous guy. The Superbad posters have two guys with goofy looks on their faces, and so everyone who they are. But what's new about these movies is the whole feel—they feel like one from another movie."

For one thing, they're not studio creations or star vehicles. They're created by an organic machine—the power of young new artists exalted by *Audrey*, *ix*, who are

He performed his first stand-up gig at 13, at a lesbian bar—he thought it was just ladies night

from the wider fringes of television—recently has two shows lived TV women, *Friends* and *Sex and the City*. He co-wrote Craig Morahan's play *Superbad*, because he'd directed the episodes of *Unfabulous*. When Kagen realized he was 100 old to play the movie's Sox chair actor, a spouse tapped a Kagen look-alike from their inner circle—Abraham Dink's Sarah Hill.

Rogers, who has lived in Los Angeles from the age of 35, has never worked in Canadian film or TV. But his Canadian identity seems unshakable. In *Boiled Up*, his persona is pure B.C. But that idea popped up during one of many long improvised sessions with his co-stars, he explains. "Once we trampled upon the notion that I'm Canadian and can't even legally work in America, it was really amusing to us." One of his co-stars in the movie is Greenwood's Jay Baruchel. "He is the most narcissistic Canadian I've met," says Rogers.

Development), a 19-year-old from Birmingham, Ore. Her live-on act is played by Charlotte from Martha MacIsaac, one of the faces of PETA's recent campaign. Goldberg's brother, in Vancouver, who's about to write his bar exams, drew all the pictures. And the basic hook of the video hasn't changed since Seth and Evan dreamed up a high school musical song the notion of buddy cops getting leashed on a confiscated booze. "At the time," says Rogers, "we'd be at parties and cops would come and take your beer. And we'd say, 'That's also true that you can't drink it, man!'"

Born in Vancouver, Regen grew up in a Jewish conscious household. The parents, Mark and Sandy Regen, ran on a kibbutz. The mother and his father are both socialists. As his father, originally from New Jersey, worked for the B.C. Coalition of People with Disabilities, and for the Workers' Circle, a Jewish community organization. Seth obtained his sense of humor at Camp Mirvov, a Lithuanian Drav summer camp. Of Vancouver's two Jewish summer camps, he recalls there was the rich one and the hippie one. He went to the hippie one, while his friend Goldberg went to the rich one. "There was nothing to do at a Lithuanian Zionist summer

The performer has lived under a gig at 21 for a female audience at a children's venue without cussing it was a lesbian bar (He thought it was ladies night) So he was a fixture on the stand up circuit, playing long before he was a full drinking age. His record for hookers: "I'm 12. In 10 years, I'll be 40. She'll be dead."

After *Aptof's* glacial kiss from an open casting call in Vancouver, Rogers moved to Los Angeles and never looked back. On *Private and Confidential*, he played an ex-cop "Week" involved with a rabid player who confesses in a delirious moment, that she was born a hermaphrodite. [As weird as that sounds, it was extremely poignant, and typical of the acute behavioral analysis that has become Aptof's trademark.] After poor ratings killed the show, Rogers landed his first film role in the cult classic, *Doogie Howser, M.D.* Aptof agreed to costar him as the lead in Fox's comedy, simply because, as Fox president and ad-

coined friend in *The 40-Year-Old Virgin*. With the one-two punch of *Virgin* and *Knocked Up*, Apatow became Hollywood's new king of comedy, and Bowen his clown prince.

The very qualities that made Fox reject Hogan as a stand-in guy for Uncle Sam made him ideal for *Ready!* (3). He looked like he didn't belong on a billboard, or in bed with Katherine Heigl. His anxiety was palpable. Recalling their love scenes, he says, "I'm just trying not to drop near on her and make sure any of my attitudes aren't popping out of my little throat. I'm a worried guy to begin with. That's before you put me in a flesh-colored drag on a movie set that costs thousands of dollars per minute. Luckily, they're supposed to be *happy* sex scenes."

Although Rypin has no writing credit on *Knocked Up*, there's so much improvisation

WE'RE STALKING... PRINCE FREDERICK VON ANHALT
The prince of questionable lineage and Zoe Zie Glöber's eighth husband called Los Angeles police to investigate his Ruthi Hogue last week. When they arrived, the cops found her dead and handcuffed to his steering wheel. Von Anhalt, who earlier this year claimed to be the father of Anna Nicole Smith's baby, claimed he had been robbed and strangled by these women who had pulled up in a white convertible, claiming to be fugitives.

MCLEAN'S AUG 13 07

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POURTRAIT OF A FANTASY: At Photo Cookies, women can slip into cowgirl chaps, thigh-high boots or a bed of rose petals for a few hours

Mommy's been very, very naughty

A Montreal studio takes fantasy portraits of suburban moms in need of a little sexual jolt

BY JOANNE LATIMER • Randy Gray, a 34-year-old entrepreneur from Dorval, Que., spends most days wearing staff uniforms and a smile. He's usually very professional and sometimes her shoulder-length brown hair is in a ponytail each morning to save it from getting tangled in wires and cables. But a shock, then, to see a new portrait of her in a gladiator wig, silver boots and angel wings. Oh yes, and she's topless. "It was a wedding gift for my husband, Vince," says Gray, who was married this summer. "I wanted him to see me this way for a change. Vince shows the picture to everyone who comes into our house and all the ladies on our street are going to get their portraits taken, too."

Gray and her neighbors are part of a growing trend toward fantasy portraiture. "Why should children have all the fun? Today's women are busy and working women are tired and proud, most like the *Desperate Housewives* than *Franny* heartbeats. "We're in suburban, where everything about the kids," notes photographer Valerie Bernanos, who co-owns Studio Photo Cookies at St. Germaine, the photo studio in the Montreal suburb of Pointe-Claire where Gray had her portrait taken. "We want to remind people not to totally lose themselves and their sensuality. It's amazing to see how people change when they dress up."

And dress up they do. Clients at Photo Cookies, which opened in October, include hipsters, hippie chicks, naughty nuns, cowgirls, and others. The studio dressing room is small with lockers, half-dresses and fairy dresses. Makeup sessions take well over an hour, including hair styling. Clients pay \$150 for the basic makeover and a retouched print.



Rebecca Mitchell, an interior designer, received a gift certificate for her studio, where she morphed into Marie Antoinette. "I read a French literature university and I love the extravagance of the *Dangerous Liaisons* era," says Mitchell, 45, whose moral view got so impressed by the color black. "But I wasn't hell bent on authenticity. I was hell bent on looking good. Ultimately I picked Marie Antoinette because it was the best costume for my figure." Louise Brusa, 43, a clinical psychologist and sex therapist, relished the chance to slip into cowgirl chaps for a few hours. "My focus has been on being a mom for the last 10 years," she explains. "So I did [the makeover] to feel sexy again. It brought me back to my roots, when I rode horses."

Wendy Foo, 51, went to Photo Cookies for a copy of *Young Fur's* annual Hollywood issue in March. She wanted old school glam and, she says, as a counterpoint to her corporate business gear. "My work clothes are very business down and I don't wear much makeup aside from red lipstick," says Foo, an accounts manager at Procter & Gamble and the mother of three. "It was nice being pampered for a few hours."

Sermon and her business partner, Keith Bernanos, run their business as a hybrid sanctuary and fan factory. "My job is to make

clients relaxed and feel safe enough to thoroughly enjoy the experience," says Bernanos, who has done over 50 makeover photo shoots in the last 10 months. "Ideal photos are too sharp not to touch up, so I use natural Photo Shop to smooth some wrinkles or soften lips here—that's it."

Some husbands are drawn by a finished product. "It was a Valentine's Day surprise for my husband," recalls Suzanne de la Demortière, 36, a working mom from Laval who was photographed as a naughty nurse. "It took her a few minutes to recognize me, then I had to convince him it was really my body. He's an old school ladies' man, so this kind of thing was off the wall for him. He said, 'Wow, that's my wife.' Nice to be really appreciated. It's finally been seen the photo and neither have the kids because I don't want to lose those. My mother-in-law would see me in another light."

Carolyn Wagner didn't predict her family's reaction to her makeover, in which she wore a sexy Santa outfit with thigh-high boots. "The kids don't really care so much what I look like, but they're thrilled I'm on the Cookie website. They tell their friends their mom is on the computer," says Wagner, 39, a personal trainer who lives in Beaconsfield. "My husband, Ben, thinks I look fabulous. At parties, he takes people over to the computer and shows his friends my picture. He did the same thing on a golf trip, asking his buddies, 'Hey, want to see my wife?'" ■

WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT LUXURIOUS POTS

The British department store Harrods is selling a gold and diamond-encrusted 28-oz cooking pot for \$275,000. Made by the German company Fissler, the pot is encrusted with 220 diamonds, of various sizes as well as a kilogram of gold in the handles and comes housed in a box made of redwood. The store describes the vessel as "probably the most precious pot in the world." Hurry in stores, because the pot's only on display Sept. 10 and Oct. 20.

PHOTO: JAMES P. BOYD/GETTY IMAGES

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ROGERS

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DALLAS, 1963: What Kennedy did in his 1,000 days as president counted far less than what his widow wanted him to do in death.

What rot. It was so not Camelot.

A new book claims Jackie Kennedy's myth-making transformed modern liberalism

BY MARK STEIN

A year or so back, to mark some anniversary or other, I had occasion to say a few words about Cassette, the title song of the Larus & Laore Broadway musical. And, naturally, I referred to its famous intersection with history: the interview Jacqueline Kennedy gave to Life magazine's T. H. White a few days after her husband's murder in Dallas. This is what the First Lady said:

"When Jack asked something, it was usually classical. But I'm so ashamed of myself—all I keep thinking of is this line from a musical comedy. At night, before we'd go to sleep, Jack liked to play some records, and the song he loved most came at the very end of the record. The lines he loved to hear were:

Don't let it be forgot
That once there was a spot
For one brief shining moment that was
known as Camelot.[®]

Mrs. Kennedy wasn't justally revealing; she had a point to make: "Once, the most loyal of history the more bitter I got. For a while I thought history was something that bitter children wrote. But then I realized history was Jack what he was," she said. "For Jack, history was full of heroes. And like me, history was a lot more than just the heroes—maybe other little boys will see Jack had that hero side of history, the idealistic view." As the slain leader's widow said it, "There'll be great great men again, but there'll never be another Camelot."

Life came out on Tuesday. That night, Camelo was playing at the Chicago Open House, a happening packed with a capacity crowd of over 1,000. "When it comes to those lives," said Alan Lee Lerner, the show's author and

a friend of Jack Kennedy's since their school days at Choate. "There was a muffled sob from the audience. I won't not a sudden sob, it was a lead, almost primitive cry of pain. The play stopped, and for almost five min-utes everyone in the theatre—in all stages, in the wings, in the parades in the audience—saw without restraint. Camelot had suddenly become the symbol of those 1,000 days when people the world over saw a bright new light of hope shining from the White House. God knows, I would have preferred that history had not become my collaboration."

The new singer immediately delighted the 1,000 dogs. "Cassino," Kennedy's official biographer, William Manchester, called his book *Our Brief Glorious Moment*; and there he followed his fellow dog most of the race of fidelity for approximately three hundred years. *My Flaming Ship (A Gaily)*. On one of the last occasions Drew Allen Lerner before his death he pulled down from his shelf an edition of *The Civil War of the American People* and showed me the last page, the story concluded with the words of his song. Nearly four decades on, the Cassino legacy will remain so strongly that the British place of death of John F. Kennedy, Jr. was marked by headlines about "Kennedy's Prince" and Drew Allen Lerner's up on air as he read ancient songs that were.

But that's the thing a day or two after dumping off Jackie Kennedy's muzzings on Camelot, her sons and skeletons, I received note from the Internet maestro Ed Demall suggesting that the widow of the "bright new light of hope" had conjured the most potent and enduring myth in American politics out of thin air. He referred me to an essay on the subject by James P. Braxatorre. "Aides and antichrists reported that they had never heard Kennedy speak either about Camelot [the musical or about it to them song]," wrote Mr. Braxatorre. "Some of Mr. Kennedy's friends said they had never even heard her speak about King, Arthur or the play itself to the association."

The author has now expanded his essay into a considerable book, *Conscience and the Cultural Revolution: How the Assassination of John F. Kennedy Shattered American Idealism*. It is a highly productive re-telling of perhaps the most over-ploughed soil in history. Mr. McCann's thesis is that the decisions made by Mrs. Kennedy, the family's caretakers and others in the days and weeks after the assassination transformed the nature of modern liberalism. Last Year Wasn't the best thing for separating Fairbanks Roosevelt, Harry Truman, George Jackson and Jack Kennedy from George McGovern, Jimmy Carter, Nancy Pelosi and Ted Kennedy.

The first victim of the Kennedy myth-making was the President himself. "Significantly," Mrs. Kennedy's notion of Aristotle's heroism

FINALLY A BOOK ABOUT... REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN

THE French Revolution expressed itself not only for the woman in liberty. The Laws and Decrees of the Women in Revolutionary France. Lucy Moore recounts the dubious welcome female soldiers received. Out of revolutionaries were classified as "Impudent women who want to become men." Following Robespierre's Reign of Terror, disfigured but "brave women attended medicine costumes bells with red cords on their throats, the call to the terror."



CAMELOT on Broadway, 1961, with Boris McGraw, Julie Andrews and Robert Goulet

derived not from Sir Thomas Malory's 15th-century chivalric *Le Morte d'Arthur*, but from *The Once and Future King* (1958) by T.H. White (no relation to the journalist), on which the musical was based. What's telling of the saga goes far in the piteousness of a half-bred, penniless orphan, mistreated and nationalised, and portrays Arthur as a new kind of hero: an idealistic pacifist seeking to save the beleaguered remains of his race.¹⁰

It is that John F. Kennedy? On the leading domestic issue of his day—civil rights? In the colorful fifties, cool?—he was decidedly *not* idealistic or "terrac" but *ambivalent* and *pragmatic*. On the leading foreign policy issue—the Cold War—he was mostly on *peace* and *moderation*, somewhat *leftist* too. On fiscal matters, he was a *tax* cutter to a *disproportionately* right wing Republican can only say that, as Merrill Peterson observed in his book *Lincoln at American Memory*, "The public remembrance of the past is concerned less with establishing traditions with appreciating *it for the present*." What Kennedy did *not* do 1,000 days counted for less than what he *did*—and *did not*—do in death. And from those *memorials* *and* *not* *from* *his* *life*.

"a great and good President has suffered a very close death as a result of the hatred and bitterness that has been poured into the life of our nation by bigotry." But being one of Kennedy's Cold Warrior advisers by a Congressman, a Congressman who'd declined to be the Soviet Union and on his return attempted to kill the head of the John Birch Society. That factuality is astounding enough, but, alas, a Marxist was also in the room, and he was the one to tell the children of Kennedy's death that the Marxist historical lessons assigned to them. For, if "there'll never be another Kennedy," it "tells us that we can never again be passed from the scene, that in a sense the entire kingdom is ruined." The New York Times editorialized about "the shame all Americans must bear for the price of madness and hate that struck down the

ident John F. Kennedy" "A Portion of Gilt For All," ran the headline on a column by its star analyst, James Reston. By the time the President's brother was mentioned, Jack Newfield's assignment of blame to "poetry, lysergics, or our genocide against the Arabs" had the timing of bookshelves. For the record, Robert Kennedy was killed by a Palestinian sniper over U.S. support for Israel.

But once the idealizing logic of a disowned nation had advanced to that stage, it was but a hop and a skip to the next. He Pursues content (pre-1961) Democratic epicures with what he calls "Puritan Liberalism," a doctrine that "took in its latest form the desperate assumption that the United States was unapproachably the most virtuous and most righteous" (TFC, *Introduction*). Jimmy Carter, apologized to the world for American's failure of crafting noble policy from "his mistakes as first of Conservatism," which, granted that it divides all his predecessors, reduces (not exclusively his fellow Democrats Truman and Kennedy) "black-and-white right" to just Kennedy American liberalism as reported in mid-century announcements would be to conclude that the movement itself was flawed. Instead, the copy found an alternative epistemic compass. Not only is Carter a source of big city, but he restores how noble it is being as a country, and he restores the American people and the nation's honor. As Mr. Pearson points out, before Oliver Stone and Jim Garrison, and all the other sinners on the road to glory, "Conspiracy theories were the province of the right" — by the late 1940s, he writes, "the left's right's fascination with plots concerning fascist spies, federal aid to education, or even communists assumed quaint in comparison with the fervent theories put forward by the denizens of the New Left."

To repeat, we are cutting, tickle down Cold War-era liberalism by a Conservative. But neither of the Americans people believe either side. And it's hardly any surprise that more recent polls show there are those who believe

**MACLEAN'S
BESTSELLERS**
(Compiled by the Maclean's Book Club)

Fiction

- | | | |
|--------------------|--|--------|
| 4 | THE THOUSAND SPLENDID DAYS by Tobias Wolff | 1 (0) |
| 5 | THE VIOLET POLICEMEN'S UNIFORM by M. Cresswell Chadron | 6 (3) |
| 6 | ON CAMEL BEACH by Ian McEwan | 2 (0) |
| 7 | DISVALUED by Michael Ondaatje | 4 (5) |
| 8 | THE GUEST by Hilary Smith | 3 (0) |
| 9 | THE CHILDREN OF HUMING by J. R. R. Tolkien | 5 (4) |
| 10 | THE GOOD HUSBAND OF ZEBRA DRIVE by Frederick Vogel | 7 (4) |
| 11 | THE MATTHEWS by Anne Clifford | 10 (2) |
| 12 | ENGLAND by Michael Phillips | 9 (0) |
| 13 | STALINE QUEST by Peter H. Gray | 8 (0) |
| Non-fiction | | |
| 1 | GOD IS NOT GREAT by Christopher Hitchens | 1 (0) |
| 2 | LONG WAY HOME by Michael Smith | 9 (0) |
| 3 | THE WORLD WITHOUT US by Alan Watts | 7 (5) |
| 4 | CULTURAL AMNESIA by David James | 5 (5) |
| 5 | 1947 by Tom Gieger | 6 (5) |
| 6 | THE SECRET by Thomas Byrne | 4 (0) |
| 7 | THE BRAMBLING THAT SHAKES ITSELF by Norman Goodale | 8 (2) |
| 8 | GOOD ARAB CONSPIRACIES by Hugh Kennedy | 6 (5) |
| 9 | THE ISRAELI CHRONICLES by David Ben-Gurion | 10 (0) |
| 10 | THE ABNORMAL ON REASON by Alan Watts | 7 (0) |

LAST WEEK ENTERED ON LIST

(is the burger sticker has it) "Will Was An Inside Job" MSNBC's Keith Olbermann recently advanced the view that George W. Bush had let Taliban killed by friendly fire in Afghanistan because the celebrity soldier was planning to meet with Osama bin Laden. He said this in prime time on an NBC cable network. Therefore, the legacy of Camelot

Nothing seemed to Canaleto played a large part in what Alan Jay Lerner, a classic New Yorker, described to me as the "thunder of thorns" of the tragedy—an act of "idealism" fed by paranoia. In covering a Cold War assassination in an indictment of a rotten corrupted America, the glimmering castle of Canaleto could only stand on toxic soil. In that sense, Lee Harvey Oswald was more consequential than he could ever have foreseen.

As for Canaleto, the most appropriate song for the Kennedy club is about the only one from the movie reviewed by the *Rarely Shagbared*: *How To Handle a Woman*. ■

ROBIN CHRISTINE KOCHOREK

1975-2007

She was carjacked in Africa, and mugged in South America, but never lost her taste for adventure

Robin Christine Kochorek was born Nov. 30, 1975, in Edmonton and grew up in St. Albert, Alta. Her father, Bob, was a teacher. Her mother, Mary, practiced nursing, but stayed home with the children after Robin was born. Robin didn't realize this as a young girl, but her two older brothers, Patrick and Michael, "She really looked up to us and just wanted to be around us. We were the only teenagers that she felt," says Michael. The family used to joke that Mary kicked Robin up to protect her from the world. Robin was a very active child so that she could add a girl to her household of boys. Little did she realize that Robin would grow up to match her brothers in tenacity and spirit.

When Robin was still young, her parents and Bob's fraternal twin brother bought land in Wainwright, B.C. Here, the three Kochorek children and their cousins spent time swimming, hiking, riding bikes, skiing, playing back the old and going to school. Robin, ever fearless, held her own even among the big kids. Child hood friend Andrea faithfully remembers Robin's promise: "She would make me see there at the lake and she would push me in the cold, and eventually I'd fall through. She was always pushing me way beyond my abilities." The kids also enjoyed trips in the mountains, where they would pitch tents and sleep under the stars.

Growing up, Robin was a free spirited beauty who loved to dance. Though she never considered a career in dance, she was a popular at St. Francis Xavier High School in Edmonton. Like her brothers, she embraced an active lifestyle. She became involved in gymnastics and worked as a coach at the St. Albert Gymnastics Club. Later, after studying psychology at the University of Alberta, Robin obtained a masters in speech language pathology and then worked with special needs children at Renfrew Educational Services in Calgary.

After coaching for a few years, Robin took a year-long leave of absence to travel to Taiwan with her cousin Kasia, where the two taught English. Last year, she taught 22 countries in eight months. She spent one month in South Africa with Andrea "dancing her heart out," Andrea says, and interacting with local women before backpacking through Eastern Europe and South America. Robin's family, concerned for her safety, begged her not to go and Patrick

pleaded that she was going to be in front of her plane so it couldn't take off. Their fears proved justified. The day after she arrived in Johannesburg, Robin was the victim of an aggressive carjacking. On the way to a movie with a friend, her windshield was cracked with a spear, and she was hit with a brick. Robin was injured, but not hurt. She was taken to a hospital and treated for her injuries. In South America, she was walking in a dangerous part of town when an assailant approached her from behind, and ripped the bag from her shoulder. Later, Robin's brother would lament the loss of her iPod and, with it, months of carefully selected tunes.

"Travel was a way for her to put herself in the right mindset, and release in terms of what is really important," Michael says. "She was well aware that those kinds of things happen." She didn't care. Robin also loved to explore the rough Canadian wilderness with her father. The pair did dozens of hikes around B.C. and Alberta and they were planning another trip for the end of the summer.

Back home in Calgary, Robin was working in a flower shop for the summer, something she had always aspired to do. A commitment to vegetarianism and environmentalism was also a strong interest. Robin earned her own environmental club and encouraged friends to become engaged with a host of causes. Friends like Melissa Haber, who knew Robin from Windermere, admired her for "treating her body with the utmost respect." She ate well and exercised. Neighbors could always spot Robin riding around on her bike.

On Sat. July 21, Robin and friend Lindsay Strasser were staying with Robin's parents in Windermere. It was a beautiful day, and Robin made the last-minute decision to accompany Lindsay and friends hiking at Phnomera Mountain Village, where the Kochoreks used to do every winter. After doing a two-hour jog, Robin separated from the group, they were going down an intermediate hill and she wanted to stick to easier routes. They planned to meet in an hour for lunch, but Robin never returned. On Sunday, a helicopter searching over the forest spotted Robin's body off the trail with a black bear lying over it. According to Michael, the corner and the bear started Robin from behind. The RCMP shot the bear. She was 25 minutes from her car. Family believe she took a wrong turn on the "poorly marked" path. She was 31 years old.

BY KATH ENGELHART



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